

PINK AND PAPERED: THE JOHN AND BARTHA MOULTON HOMESTEAD AND ITS
RELATIONSHIP TO BROADER TRENDS IN RURAL, MORMON, AND DOMESTIC
ARCHITECTURE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

Noah Kramer Yoder

A THESIS

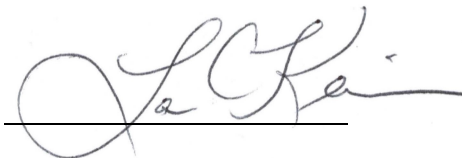
In

Historic Preservation

Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2020

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Laura C. Keim', written over a horizontal line.

Advisor
Laura C. Keim
Lecturer in Historic Preservation

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Frank G. Matero', written over a horizontal line.

Program Chair
Frank G. Matero
Professor of Architecture

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many researchers, teachers, family, and friends. In particular, I would like to thank my Advisor, Laura C. Keim, for dedicating her time, guidance, and support throughout my research and writing. It has been a wonderful opportunity working with you.

Much appreciation to the entire Historic Preservation Department, especially Frank G. Matero, Professor of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, for introducing me to the Pink House and its marvelous interiors, and for facilitating my visit to the site. Many thanks to Micah Dornfield, Administrative assistant of the Historic Preservation Department for helping navigate the ins and outs of my thesis timeline in the year of Covid-19.

Thank you to Joe Elliott for his exceptionally beautiful photographs of the Pink House and his assistance in documenting the interior.

I am grateful to the Cultural Resource and Historic Preservation staff at Grand Teton National Park, including Katherine Wonson, Kate Birmingham, and John Hyche for allowing me to visit Mormon Row, and their assistance in opening up and documenting the site.

Thank you to Sara Stratte, and the Center for Architectural Conservation for sharing resources and insights that helped this project along.

I would like to acknowledge the Shoshone, Bannock, Blackfoot, Crow, Flathead, Gros Ventre and Nez Perce Nations, on whose land Mormon Row now sits.

Thank you to my partner Harrison, parents, siblings, and grandmothers for their unwavering support in this, and all my endeavors.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the southeast corner of Grand Teton National Park sits string of six Mormon homesteads collectively called “Mormon Row.” Arranged along a main road, the Row’s six building clusters are surrounded by an agricultural landscape of houses, fields, farm buildings, and drainage systems. (Figure 1.1.) Some of these landscape features are still in use by residents while others have dissolved into parkland. The Row is an eclectic mix of rustic log structures and mid-20th-century farmhouses set against the backdrop of the Grand Teton and Gros Ventre mountain ranges. Though seemingly desolate today, 32 families once made this place their home. John and Bartha Moulton, a Mormon couple from southeastern Idaho, spent most of their lives on a homestead on the Row’s northern half. While the Moulton homestead includes the characteristic log barns, corrals, and dilapidated fences one might expect of a disused Western homestead, the stuccoed Moulton house is painted a surprising shade of salmon pink with emerald green trim, and a mauve foundation. (Figure 1.2.) This stucco building is locally known as “the Pink House” and is a standout fixture in the landscape. While the exterior of the house makes a strong statement that can be seen from a long distance away, the interior is equally incongruous with most preconceived notions of frontier homesteading. Prefabricated materials, bright colors, and bold wallpapers tell a story of late-stage homesteading infused with personality and style extracurricular to the utilitarian needs of an isolated farm. (Figure 1.3.)

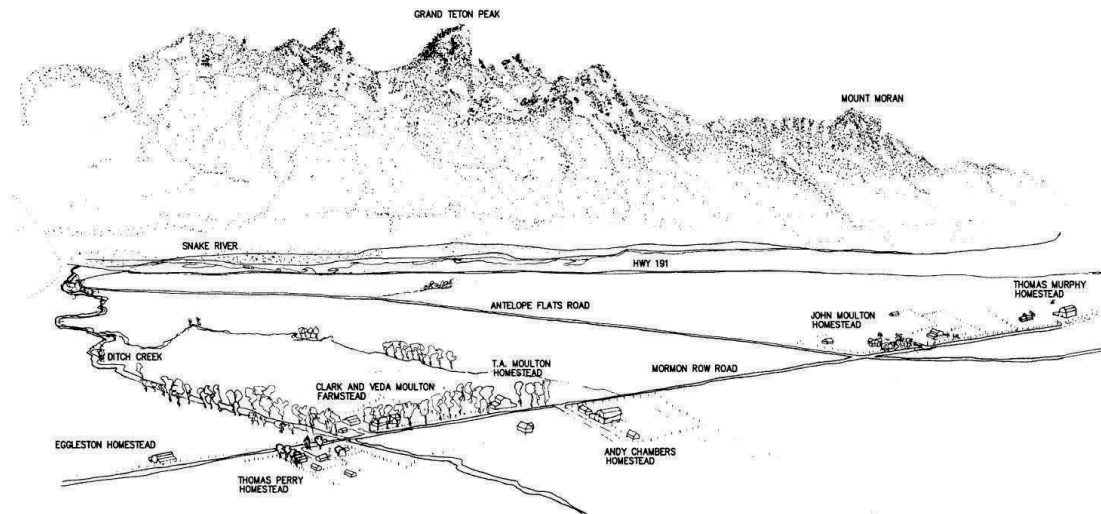


Figure 1.1. A contextual illustration of the Mormon Row Historic District showing the extant structures and layout of the Row. (Historic American Building Survey, WY-152-A)



Figure 1.2. View of the western elevation of the Pink House on the John and Bartha Moulton Homestead. Note the distinctive Salmon Pink stucco, emerald green wood trim, and mauve stucco foundation. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



Figure 1.3. Interior of the Pink House sewing room which showcases prefabricated doors, stylish hardware, and vibrantly colored Linoleum (finish SR.L.016.) (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

Though anomalous in color, the Pink House was in many ways typical of homesteads along Mormon Row and among 20th-century Mormon homes throughout the American West. Today, few buildings remain on the site and those that do are largely log frame structures in keeping with a romanticized, rustic vision of Western settlement. The Moulton homestead, however, is a vibrant reminder that the Row was once populated by thoughtfully designed houses in a variety of materials, many are no longer extant. This thesis examines the design and finishes of the Pink House in order to understand their place in Mormon domestic architecture and contextualize the house among

broader architectural trends in farmhouse design as modern amenities and mass-produced items became available in the rural West by the 1940s.¹

The Pink House was born out of a 19th-century legacy of Mormon vernacular architecture that prized symmetry, classicism, and local craftsmanship. “Vernacular” buildings are usually understood as beholden to tradition, local materials, and in the case of homesteading architecture, material scarcity. The Pink House and the Moulton homestead engage Mormon tradition while also relishing the individuality afforded by access to national design trends and a market of prefabricated goods. Mormon characteristics including the House’s stucco exterior, location on the property, landscaping, sense of symmetry, and other features embody the homestead’s connection to Mormon patrimony. By contrast, the Pink House is also filled with mass-produced wallpaper, hardware, and materials not necessarily prescribed by Mormon precedent, and associated with American society beyond the confines of Mormon culture. Instead, these modern elements showcase an aesthetic and physical layout that reveal deliberate application of national trends. These trends would have been accessible to the Moulton family through shelter magazines that espoused ideas about housing reform, farmhouse planning, and interior decoration.²

¹ In this paper “modern” is used to describe things that are recent, or unbounded by regionalism and tradition. “Modernist” is used when referencing things that relate to the ideology of Modernism as an artistic and philosophical movement.

² “Shelter” literature is a catch-all term for publications, magazines and books that encompass subjects ranging from interior decorating to home construction and improvement.

The Pink House contains vestiges of Mormon prescriptions, while looking to popular floor plans and decoration adapted to a rural situation and economical materials, marking a point of transition in Mormon vernacular architecture as it modernized and assimilated aspects of national material culture. The modern and individualistic choices that characterize the Pink House make it hard to situate the house in a canon like that which has been built around 19th-century Mormon architecture. Modernism is essentially anathema to vernacular and regional styles because it is inherently based on a broader market of national and international trends. Thus, the sectarian specificity and regional limitations of Mormon architecture break down with the 20th-century adoption of prefabricated materials, and the aesthetics of America at large. The duality of the Pink House is an artifact of this transition from Mormon tradition to modern style.

The Pink House also illustrates farmhouse planning typical of prewar, rural homes. Not only did it originally lack amenities like electricity and plumbing, careful zoning of working and domestic spaces links it to trends in household planning advocated by early 20th-century housing reformers. These rural housing characteristics provide a visual representation of the daily lives of late-stage homesteaders.

The Pink House features 32 wallpapers, which are one of the most evocative elements of the Pink House's interiors. These papers demonstrate the pervasiveness of prefabricated materials in Western homes and the effect of national trends on the decorative preferences of the Moulton family. The layered nature of these wallpapers

also tells the narrative of the Moulton family' taste as it changed over time and contextualizes that taste within the broader history of 20th-century wallpaper.

The Pink House sits at the crossroads of all these things, philosophically related to a 19th-century legacy of Mormon taste, bound by a lack of amenities like plumbing and electricity, and liberated by choice in new, mass produced goods all at once. While a full survey of homes built under similar conditions would be necessary to truly understand how tradition and modernity coexist in 20th-century Mormon architecture, study of the Pink House in this broader context is a first step, and perhaps models what could be done for other sites.

This thesis builds upon existing historical documentation of Mormon Row, including a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, a Historic Structures Report, documentation by the Historic American Building Survey, and Park Service literature.³ Additionally, Sara Stratte, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's graduate program in Historic preservation, has conducted a conditions assessment, material characterization, and evaluation of the stucco exterior of the Pink House in anticipation of repairs.⁴ All of these studies offered an invaluable foundation for the

³"Mormon Row Historic District National Register of Historic Places Registration Form." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, 1997; A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report, Mormon Row Historic District, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming." A&E project no. 16075.00. National Park Service, February 28, 2018; "Mormon Row (Grosvont), Grand Teton National Park." Historic American Building Survey. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. 1997.

⁴Sara Stratte. "Task 1 Report: Conditions Assessment, Materials Characterization and Initial Treatment Recommendations for Exterior Stucco on the John Moulton Homestead." Conditions Assessment. Philadelphia PA: Center for Architectural Conservation, June 2018. Accessed August 9, 2020. http://www.conlab.org/acl/pink/pink-rpts/PINK_Task%20Report%201%202018%20opti.pdf; Sara Stratte. "An Evaluation of Historic Cement Stucco Using Conditions Assessment Methodology and Digital

broader research outlined here. This thesis takes the existing documentation of the Row and contextualizes it and the Pink House as it relates to Mormon architecture, shelter publications, and national markets so that the Park Service can present a richer interpretation of the site.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MORMON ROW

As the name implies, the homesteaders who inhabited Mormon Row were largely Mormon, and many aspects of the Row's organization and appearance, including the Pink House, reflect Mormon culture at large. While there is an array of published material on Mormon theology, history, and society, an understanding of Mormonism is essential to understanding the importance and context of the Moulton Family homestead and Mormon Row.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) is a Restorationist Christian sect and culture group founded by Joseph Smith who published the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. From the outset, they pursued a utopian society called "Zion." Their millenarian ideals and then-unfamiliar brand of Christianity caused Mormons to suffer extensive persecution in their early years, which drove them westward, making them a pivotal group in the history of pioneer settlement in the Middle and far West. Following Smith's death in 1844, his successor, Brigham Young, led many Mormons into Utah to establish an isolated Zion free from mainstream American society. Young and his followers founded Salt Lake City, from which Mormons rapidly expanded throughout the Great (Snake River) Basin and beyond, settling what is now known as the Mormon culture region or Mormon Corridor, which extends from Utah into Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, and Wyoming. Though the community has a strong central identity, it is important to note that Mormons are not a homogenous group and are composed of various sects with a spectrum of beliefs and practices.

In 1908, John Albert Moulton and his brothers Thomas Alma and Joseph Wallace arrived in Jackson Hole Valley and built three homesteads on which several generations lived. The Moulton brothers were among a group of late-stage homesteaders who moved to Wyoming through the Homestead Act of 1862. Officially titled an “An Act to Secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain,” the act offered land across the Middle and far West to American citizens. Those who applied were required to meet certain age and loyalty prerequisites and paid a small application fee. In order to receive patent to the land, homesteaders needed to successfully inhabit and “improve” the land through cultivation and the construction of a 12x12 foot dwelling over the course of five years. The Amended Homestead Act of 1912 provided an additional three-year proof.⁵ In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt abolished a portion of Yellowstone National Forest in Wyoming and created the Grand Teton National forest. This act opened previously unavailable lands to homesteading, inciting a small rush of immigrants to Jackson Hole Valley.⁶ Mormon Row, then called Grovont, grew to accommodate multiple homesteads owned by both Mormon and non-Mormon residents. A large portion of the new homesteaders hailed from Idaho, just across the Teton Pass, including the Moulton brothers who left their parents’ farm in Chapin Idaho, a small town near Victor. (Figure 2.1.) At that time, scenic tourism was already the main

⁵ “Mormon Row Historic District National Register...” 45; “Public domain” is a misnomer regarding the Homesteading Act in Wyoming and elsewhere. While only seasonal residents, the Shoshone, Bannock, Blackfoot, Crow, Flathead, Gros Ventre and Nez Perce Nations occupied the region around Mormon Row long before homesteaders arrived.

⁶ A&E Architects, “Historic Structures Report...” 11.

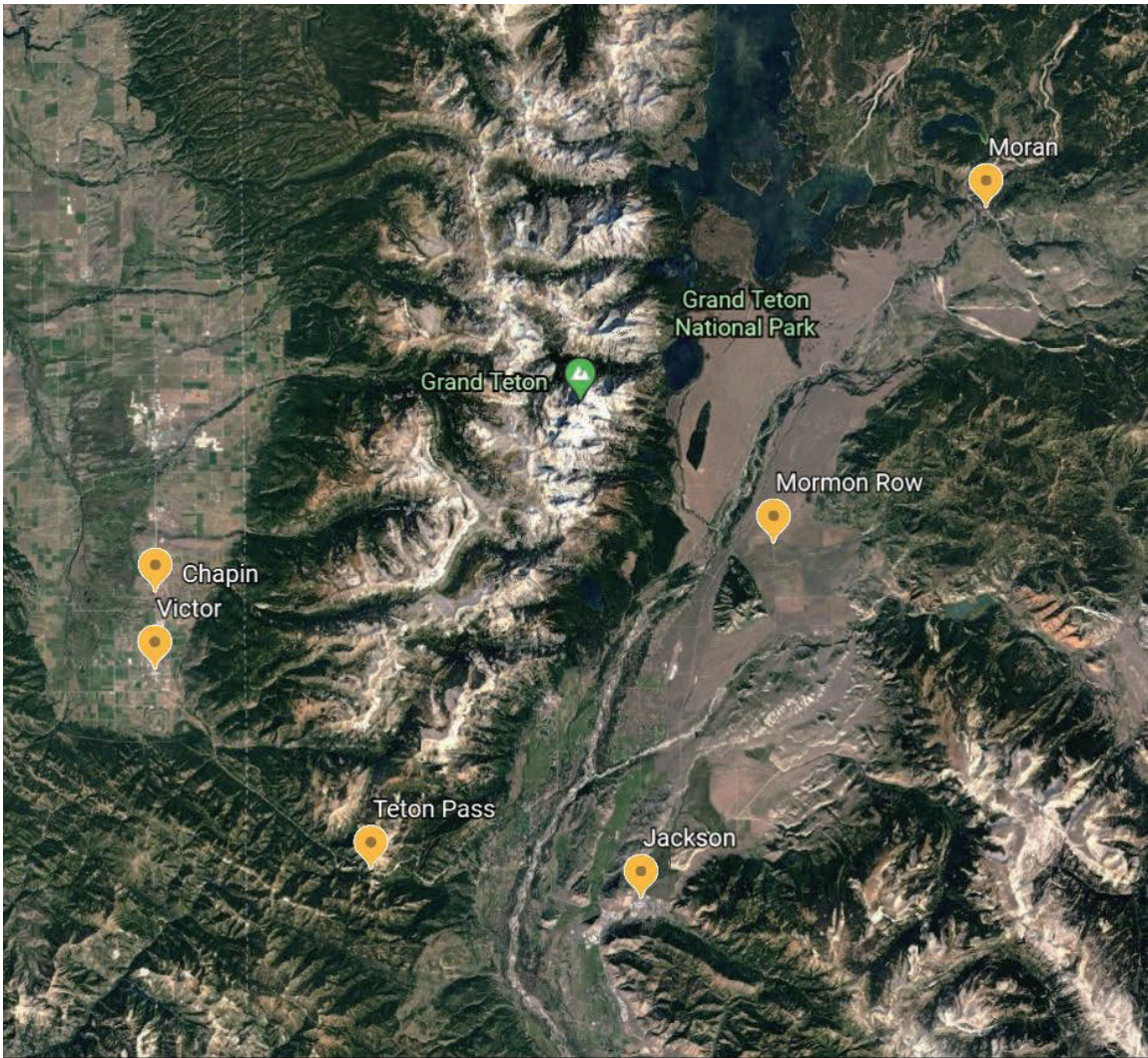


Figure 2.1. Map of the Grand Teton mountain range and surrounding areas. To the left are the towns of Chapin and Victor, Idaho, the respective hometowns of John and Bartha Moulton. To the right is Grand Teton National Park, in Wyoming. Mormon Row is centrally located within the park and between the towns of Jackson and Moran. At one time the Row, then called Grovont, was an important stop along the route between these two larger towns. The Teton pass was the main route across the Grand Teton Mountain range. (Google Earth.)

industry of the region, owing to the natural beauty of the area, and the land had little to recommend itself for agriculture. Mormon Row, however, is fortuitously located adjacent to Blacktail Butte, which provided protection from the prevailing winds. Additionally, well-drained alluvial soils and seasonal waterways encouraged agricultural industry along the Row despite the area's general lack of agricultural productivity.

However, even under these more favorable conditions, clearing brush and constructing a functioning homestead required years of labor, and the Moulton brothers returned to Idaho on a seasonal basis to work as farm laborers and to avoid the long, harsh winters of Wyoming during their early homesteading.⁷

In 1916, after eight years of work, the Moulton brothers had adequately completed their homesteads to take up full residence along the Row and receive patents to their land. By this time John's property included cleared agricultural land, a barn, corrals, a perimeter fence, and the requisite log cabin. Property improvements continued well after the Moulton families gained title as the brothers improved the productivity of their fields by digging irrigation ditches from the Gros Ventre river and nearby creeks in collaboration with some of their neighbors.⁸ Like other farmers in Grovont, the Moulton families grew cold hardy crops like oats, wheat, barley, alfalfa, and timothy grass. Ranching, however, was the most reliable and profitable operation for farmers along the Row, and many of these crops went to feeding cattle rather than sale.⁹

Mormon Row's relative agricultural productivity made it critical to the local economy. Even after the arrival of cars in Jackson Hole, horse driven wagons or sleds were the primary mode of transportation, so oats and hay were needed to feed horses as well as cattle. Grovont also supplied beef and dairy products to dude ranches and the

⁷ "Mormon Row Historic District National Register..." 32.

⁸ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 14.

⁹ "Mormon Row Historic District, Grand Teton National Park." National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory, National Park Service, 2016. 13.

nearby towns of Jackson, Moran, and Kelley.¹⁰ Still, farming in the area was difficult work, and many homesteaders sold off their land almost immediately after gaining title. Unpredictable economic and weather conditions also caused many of the Row's homesteaders to move away. After World War I, falling demand for agricultural commodities decreased the profitability of homesteading in the valley, and a series of droughts in the mid-1920s only added to this hardship. At the close of World War II, prices dropped again and were followed by two floods in the 1950s that drove additional homesteaders away.¹¹ As other farmers left, the Moulton brothers began to buy up neighboring properties and consolidate their holdings. By the mid-1920s they collectively owned the bulk of the Row, including the entire northern half. Together they shared resources and labor to remain profitable and were able to make steady improvements to their homesteads.¹²

Mormon Row has only six remaining clusters of buildings, giving Park visitors the impression that Grovont was a remote town inhabited by only a few families and buildings. In truth, the town was composed of 32 homesteads and was positioned on the heavily trafficked road between Jackson and Moran. (Figures 2.1., 2.2.) Additionally, the Row had several communal amenities including a church, school, and swimming hole. Cabins, barns, granaries, and outbuildings were on every plot, and as soon as possible most homesteaders upgraded from log houses to more substantial homes.¹³ By

¹⁰ Mormon Row National Register Nomination, page 47.

¹¹ Sara Stratte. "An Evaluation..." 7.

¹² A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 12-14.

¹³ "Mormon Row Historic District National Register..." 7.

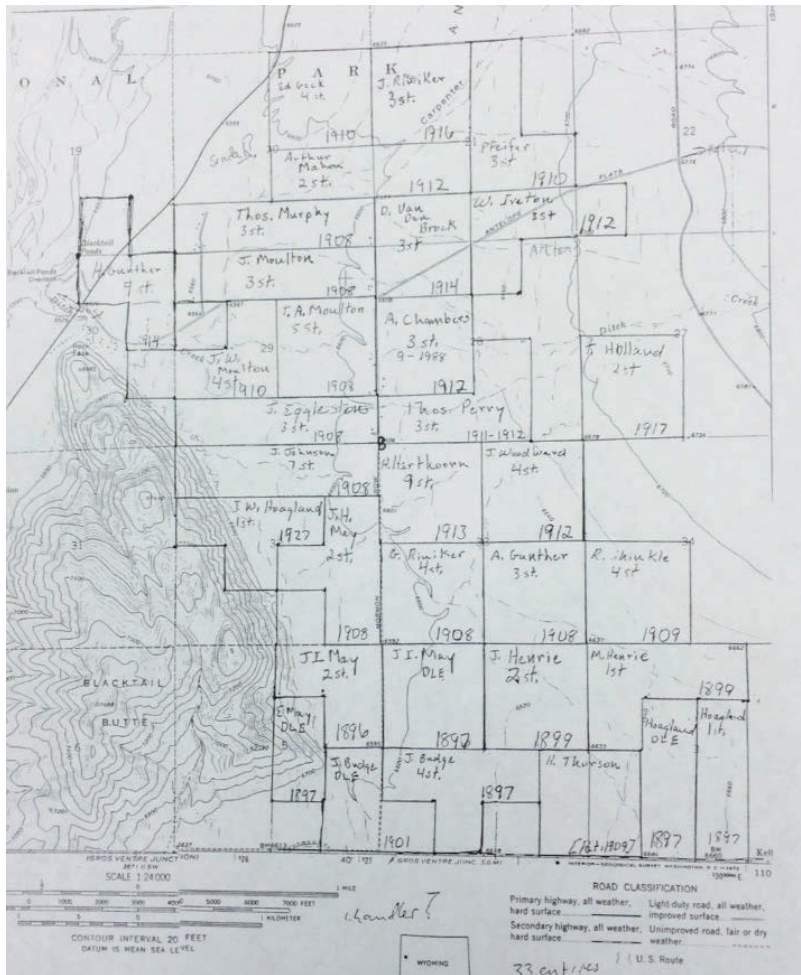


Figure 2.2. Map of Mormon Row drawn by Craig Moulton showing the original 32 homesteads, of which only six are extant. (Collection of the Jackson Hole Historical Society & Museum. Accessed via: Andrea Downing, “Mormon Row: Historic Site or Ghost Town?,” *Andrea Downing*, November 6, 2014. <https://andreadowning.com/2014/11/06/mormon-row-historic-site-or-ghost-town/>.)

1915, almost all the homesteads showed major housing improvements in a variety of styles, from rustic architecture dictated by local resources to more ambitious homes in architectural styles popular across the nation. Regional materials included lodgepole pine logs obtained nearby, and milled lumber was available from local mills as early as 1910. As train access to the valley was not established until 1908, other materials had to be transported from Idaho via the Teton Pass, which was a treacherous route until widened in 1932.¹⁴ (Figure 2.1.) Despite the general remoteness of the area, hardware

¹⁴ Sara Stratte. “An Evaluation...” 6-7.



Figure 2.3. Newspaper advertisement for Jackson Hole Hardware. This would have been one of the hardware stores nearest to Mormon Row, and the Moultons may have purchased hardware from this retailer. (Jackson Hole Courier, 16 Mar 1939, Thursday, Page 5. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/38174928/jackson-hole-courier/>.)

stores in Jackson Valley were still able to supply a variety of other building materials used by homesteaders, including hardware and wallpaper. (Figure 2.3.) Homebuilding often took place in the winter months when farm work occupied less time.¹⁵

Soon after obtaining the patent to his land, 29-year-old John married 20-year-old Bartha Blanchardin from Victor, Idaho in 1917. Together they had four children, Hilma Ruth (b. 1917,) Rhoda Frances (b. 1918,) Boyd (b. 1920), and Reed (b. 1922.) The entire

¹⁵ "Mormon Row Historic District National Register..." 49.

family resided in their original log cabin homestead house.¹⁶ Unlike most homesteaders along Mormon Row, John and Bartha waited more than twenty years to upgrade John's original log cabin for a more substantial house. In 1938 they hired local carpenter Ted Blanchard to build the Pink House. By then the Moulton's three eldest children had graduated high school, and Reed, the youngest, had two remaining years of school to go.¹⁷ The house was comparatively spacious for the family of six, with three bedrooms, a sewing room, a living room, a "dry" bathroom, spacious kitchen, and mudroom.



Figure 2.4. Bartha Moulton in the Pink House kitchen standing next to her Majestic (brand) wood-fired cookstove. Note that the Kitchen is painted Yellow, its second or third finish. (Finish K.P.042 or K.P.043.) (Photo No.2004.0048.002, Philip Sultz Collection, Stan Klassen Research Center, Jackson Hole Historical society & Museum.)

¹⁶ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 14.

¹⁷ Ibid 14-15, 24.

Bartha used a large *Majestic* (brand) cookstove and space in the mudroom to make butter and other products she supplied to the local dude ranches.¹⁸ (Figure 2.4.)

Though the Pink House was built to house all six members of the Moulton family, John and Bartha's children only lived there intermittently until 1945. Between 1941 and 1942, Boyd went off on a two-year mission trip to Arizona and California. In 1942, Reed enlisted in the army, and Frances married James May, who also lived along Mormon Row. In 1943, Hilma married Clair Roberts in Mesa Arizona, and Boyd also enlisted in the army. In 1945, Boyd married Inez May upon his return from the war, and Reed wed Shirley Thomas in that same year.¹⁹

Reed was the only child to remain working on his parents' homestead. Hilma moved to Arizona, Boyd to Idaho, and Frances moved down the Row. Reed and Shirley lived in a log cabin behind the Pink House for several years until the Moultons built another stucco house along the Row for the couple in about 1950. Reed gradually took over the family's ranching operation when John and Bartha began retiring to Jackson in the winter months, preferring to live along the Row only in summertime.²⁰ In 1973 Reed and his family were in a car accident; both he and his daughter Mary Ann were killed while Shirley and another daughter were injured but survived. In that same year Bartha died at the age of 73. Reed and Shirley's son, Bob, assumed control of the ranch, but left

¹⁸ Ibid 24.

¹⁹ Ibid 15

²⁰ Ibid 15-16.

in 1981 to work for the state of Wyoming, thereafter renting the land to his cousins Merrill and Gladys Moulton.²¹

Bob Moulton elected to move because of a sale John and Bartha made years prior in 1953 that transferred the title of their homestead to Grand Teton National Park. At the time, the Park had encroached and surrounded Grovont, which significantly curtailed grazing beyond the boundaries of the Row. Lands that were once public domain on which local ranchers grazed their cattle in spring and summer became accessible only through permits which allotted only 40 head of cattle and 69 head of utility stock to graze on the parkland in antelope flats.²² As a result, ranching became less viable as a long-term prospect, and as most of Mormon Row's residents had already abandoned their homesteads, expansion of the ranching business was limited. When they sold their farm of 250 acres to the Park for \$78,000, the deed provided a life tenancy for John and Bartha which granted them the right to "use said property as a residence and for ranching and farming purposes for themselves for the remainder of their natural lives."²³ When John died in 1991, the farm was fully handed over to the Park and the Moulton family moved out.

²¹ Ibid 16.

²² In the ranching industry, cows are graded into four broad categories based on weight and muscle mass: canner, cutter, utility, and commercial. Utility cows have a high body weight, either from fat storage or muscle mass. Essentially, utility cows are the biggest eaters, which is why they would have been specified in parkland grazing permits.

²³ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 15.

3. HISTORIC PRESERVATION ALONG MORMON ROW

Grand Teton National Park was born from a passion project of John D. Rockefeller Jr., who slowly bought up land in Wyoming through a shell company called the “Snake River Land Company,” until he had accumulated enough property to donate to the federal government for use as a park. Rockefeller hid behind the Snake River Land Company to avoid backlash from local farmers and ranchers who would have balked at the idea of federal control of the land.²⁴ In 1950, when most of Mormon Row became part of the Park, the idea of the town as an interpreted historic site was not strongly considered, and the Row was deemed incompatible with the seasonal elk migration across Jackson Valley. Four-fifths of the buildings and structures that would have allowed historical interpretation along the Row were demolished, including the school, church, and homesteads. (Figure 3.1.) After the Row received designation as a national historic site in 1997, some buildings, like Reed and Shirley’s house, had pieces removed when they did not fit within the recognized period of significance.²⁵ Wildlife conservation was long prioritized over cultural heritage preservation in Western National Parks, excepting architecture that supported the romantic notion of a wild, rustic American frontier. For most of the 20th century, however, rustic architecture using local materials and

²⁴ Despite using the Snake River Land Trust, his purchase of ranch land in the Jackson Hole area remained highly politicized, and Rockefeller’s donation of the land for National Park designation was embroiled in controversy for over 25 years, (from 1924-1950); Jackie Skaggs. “Creation of Grand Teton National Park: A Thumbnail History.” National Park Service. January 2000. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/grte/planyourvisit/upload/creation.pdf>. 2.

²⁵ “Mormon Row Historic District National Register...” 43.

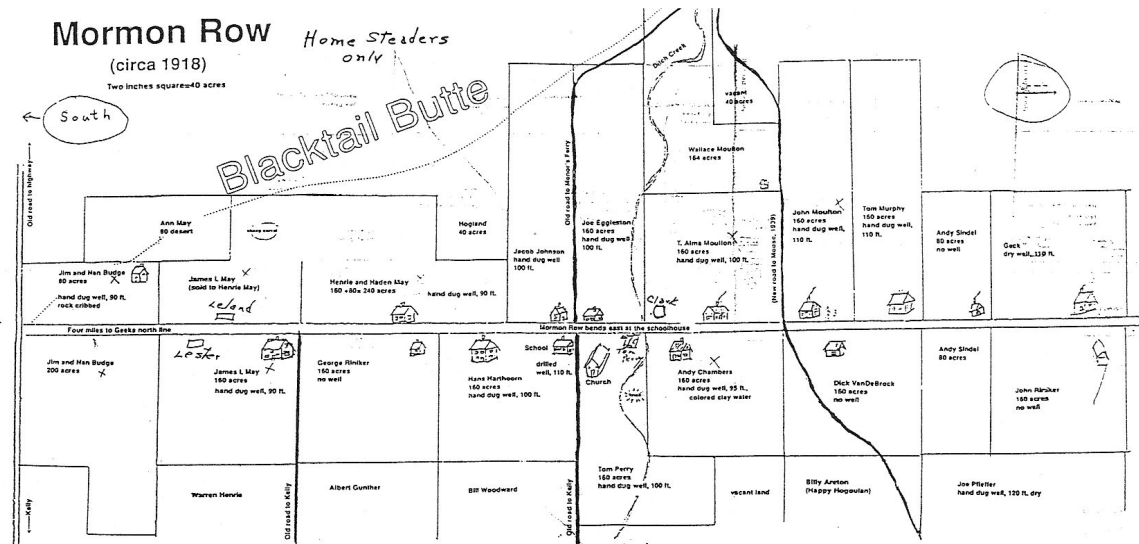


Figure 3.1. A map of Mormon Row detailing individual buildings, including a church and a school. Most of these buildings were demolished around 1950 because the town was seen as an impediment to seasonal elk migrations. The lack of surviving fabric along the Row makes historical interpretation more difficult and underscores the importance of preserving and showcasing extant buildings like the Pink House. (Karen Stark, “Mormon Row Homestead,” *Eggleston Roots*, March 23, 2020. <http://www.egglestonroots.com/2015/05/12/mormon-row-homestead/>.)

vernacular methods was uncommon. Instead, structures made of prefabricated materials were built for their ease of design, construction, and maintenance.²⁶ Mormon Row, and the Pink House especially, reflect the embrace of economical, prefabricated building elements and national design trends that characterized late-stage homesteading.²⁷

²⁶ The National Park preference for rustic architecture stood in contrast to the taste of many architects in the American West. Landscape architect George Nason described rustic buildings thus: “Rude buildings are an affectation. They can only be produced by an effort so deliberate and self-conscious that they lay the designer open to the charge of sophistication. They are not a protest against overelaboration but an elaborate protest against progress in architecture... The Glorified pioneer structures of today are a species of tawdry circus showmanship, not examples of simple honesty. They are designed to awe rather than usefully charm.” (National Park Service. *1940 yearbook: Park and Recreation Progress*. (Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office). 1940.)

²⁷ While not part of any academic survey of park architecture, the author and others have seen prefabricated materials matching those of the Pink House in other buildings throughout the West, including some owned by the National Park Service, as well as dude ranches from the same era.

While the Park's former disregard for the historic significance of the Row resulted in the demolition of many significant buildings outside the original vision, that general disinterest did have the welcome effect of preserving the Pink House as we see it today. The house has been unoccupied since 1990 and passively conserved by the National Park Service. Fastidious maintenance of the house up until John's death in 1991, coupled with the Park's lack of remodeling, have helped the house retain much of its original character, providing an uncommonly clear window into the everyday life and design choices of late stage homesteaders.

4. OVERVIEW OF MORMON ARCHITECTURE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

The distinctive pink color, stucco exterior, and flashy wallpapers in the Moulton family home are in stark contrast with the usual romantic expectations of a 21st-century visitor to Western parklands. Rustic cabins and untamed wilderness populate the imaginations of Americans, who generally view the West as America's wild frontier, and homesteaders as intrepid pioneers who eschewed the conveniences of established society to brave an isolated unknown. In reality, the architecture of the West was far less beholden to the wild conditions of the frontier than is commonly believed. Settlement of the Middle and far West was an incremental process, and homesteaders were generally not too distant from settlements and family farms that had been established in the previous generation of homesteading.²⁸ Nearly all the inhabitants of Mormon Row hailed from nearby southeastern Idaho, where resources and economic support were available. John and his brothers were from Chapin, Idaho, where they returned each winter during their first eight years of homesteading, and Bartha was from Victor, where the couple was married.²⁹ (Figure 2.1. [page 10.]) Additionally, the Moultons would have had familiarity with at least a few Mormon settlements throughout the West. Both Bartha and John had family relations from across the

²⁸ Ronald R. Boyce. "The Mormon Invasion and Settlement of the Upper Snake River Plain in the 1880s." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 78, no. 1/2 (Jan-Apr. 1987): 54. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.upenn.edu/stable/pdf/40490272.pdf>; Homestead expansion into adjacent areas was partially the result of small homestead lots being insufficient for dividing up inheritance among multiple children, who would instead acquire their own homesteads, usually with significant assistance from family.

²⁹ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 11, 15.

Mormon culture region and had siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles as far away as Arizona.³⁰

Late 19th and early 20th-century homesteads often reflected the established architecture of nearby areas which was altogether more refined and evocative of Eastern building traditions than one might romantically associate with the American West. Living along the Row was undoubtedly hard work, and settlement of the area necessitated ample taming of the landscape, but Mormon Row was not immune to the influences of national architectural trends and often followed the comparatively sophisticated, established precedent witnessed in both housing and planning throughout the Mormon culture region.

Mormon occupation of the Snake River Basin, edged on the east by the Tetons, began in earnest in 1879, and was a broadening of Brigham Young's claim to Salt Lake City following his death. While just outside the boundary of the Snake River Basin, the settlement of Teton Valley (Mormon Row) is part of this expansion and places it firmly within the Mormon culture region.³¹ Hallmarks of Mormon town planning and design can still be seen today and would have been obvious during the town's peak habitation. Unexpectedly, the rudiments of Mormon planning are derived from New England traditions, that were generally discarded by non-Mormon homesteaders for their incompatibility with the Homesteading Act. Under the act, the West was divided into

³⁰ Ancestry.com. "Ancestry Library." *Ancestry.com*. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³¹ Ronald R. Boyce. "The Mormon Invasion..." 50.

rectilinear, 160-acre units that paid no attention to geographic factors like waterways or changes in elevation. Combined with a lack of roads, this rigid plan encouraged scattered settlement as homesteaders selected lots with the most advantageous conditions and location.³² However, the aforementioned traditional planning was well-suited to the millenarian tastes and lifestyle of Mormon homesteaders who adapted it for the conditions of the homesteading act.³³

In 1883, Joseph Smith laid out highly specific plans for Zion that included a four-square pattern on a strict cardinal grid with masonry houses and prescribed landscaping. This provided the basic framework of Mormon planning from which Mormons rarely deviated in the 19th century.³⁴ In general, clusters of Mormon homesteads followed a linear pattern which was not only orderly, but facilitated the even distribution of resources such as farmable land, pasture and water. The format also grouped residences along a common corridor for maximum social advantage. Streets were often wide, ranging from 30 to 100 feet, and were flanked by weedy shoulders and roadside irrigation ditches. Houses stood uncommonly close to the road - usually no more than 25 feet back from the street - behind groves planted in the front yard. This arrangement often led to a cluster of buildings surrounded by a wide belt of green space and farmland. Mormon settlements frequently have extensive irrigation

³² D. Brooks Green. "The Settlement of Teton Valley, Idaho-Wyoming." Thesis. Brigham Young University, 1974. 128. Accessed August 9, 2020.

<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5726&context=etd>.

³³ Ibid. 131-132.

³⁴ Richard Francaviglia. *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, creation, and perception of a Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press), 1978. 81.

ditches and shared pastures which pass through adjacent properties and are witness to the communal nature of Mormon homesteading culture.³⁵

As much of Mormon Row has been demolished, either intentionally or by neglect, the characteristically Mormon layout of the Row may appear ambiguous to the contemporary visitor, with only six homesteads and the main road still evident. Despite this erasure, the planning and architectural preferences of 19th-century Mormon leaders are still evident. The Row features roadside irrigation ditches, houses close to the road, and an orderly layout in cardinal directions. Like comparable farms in other Mormon



Figure 4.1. A view of the John and Bartha Moulton Homestead which showcases elements characteristic of Mormon planning, including roadside irrigation ditches, wooden fences, and notched log construction. The close proximity of the Pink House to the road and the grove of trees in the front yard are also common features of Mormon homesteads. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

³⁵ D. Brooks Green. "The Settlement ..." 132.

settlements, the John and Bartha Moulton homestead includes a grove of trees in the front yard, humble fences, and unpainted, notched log barns and outbuildings. (Figure 4.1.) Aberrations from established Mormon building traditions may result from Mormon Row being a 20th-century late-stage homesteading community with a broader range of influences than its 19th-century counterparts. Literature regarding Mormon domestic architecture has largely focused on 19th-century trends, with only small forays into the very early 20th century, in part because the differentiation between Mormon and non-Mormon architecture blurs as consumer culture made its way Westward, and in part because the 19th century was the formative period for Mormon identity as expressed in material culture.

The separatist doctrine of Joseph Smith and the isolated nature of the Mormon Corridor grouped Mormon identity into a cohesive whole that, at least in the West, was aesthetically evident in the community's early material culture. An edict to build quality housing was frequently stated as a matter of spiritual significance by Mormon leadership throughout the 19th and early 20th century. Brigham Young notably wrote: "If you want to build a house, build as good of one as you can imagine."³⁶ Another church leader, Amasa Lyman, wrote "[build] as though you intended and expected to live there eternally. When you build your houses, build houses *to live in*."³⁷ The

³⁶ Brigham Young. "Dependence on the Lord – Coal and Iron Works – Family Excursions." In *Journal of Discourses*, Vol 2. Reported by G.D. Watt. 279-297. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards), May 27, 1855. <https://scriptures.byu.edu/jod/pdf/JoD02/JoD02.pdf>

³⁷ "Historical Records of the PA Rowan Stake." 1856-59. P 19. Salt Lake City, Church Historian's Office. (Emphasis the recorders.)

emphasis on quality housing – and quality towns and gardens – stemmed from the Mormon belief that the coming of God’s kingdom on earth was imminent and that they should “build up [God’s] church and kingdom on earth and prepare [God’s] people for the time when [God] shall dwell with them...”³⁸

By all accounts, Mormons strove to build solid, permanent houses, and Joseph Smith’s particular vision for stone – or at least masonry – construction was followed as closely as material resources and wealth would allow, and essentially became an element of Mormon architectural design. When geographically available, Mormon homes were made of stone, though more often brick was used in Mormon settlements. In regions like the Teton Valley where resources were scarce, wood-frame dwellings were common among those who could not afford true masonry. The illusion of stone or brick was frequently approximated on such structures by a layer of stucco, occasionally painted and scored in imitation of more costly materials. The stucco exterior, and scored foundation of the Moulton house, fits squarely within the Mormon vernacular. Even the unusual pink color seems within reason when one considers the great number of brick homes described as “salmon pink” found throughout the Mormon Corridor.³⁹ (Figure 4.2.)

³⁸ The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. 104:59.

³⁹ Richard Francaviglia. *The Mormon Landscape...* 21; Hearsay within the park service claims that John Moulton elected to paint the house pink because it was Bartha’s favorite color. Though she ultimately didn’t like the color, she appreciated the sentiment and chose to keep it.

Smith's edict to construct quality housing went beyond the material aspect of homes and extended into the realm of architectural fashion. This concern with worldly appearance both affirmed Mormon spiritual identity and played an important political role. Public perception of Mormons as odd, uncultured polygamists – and their close association with frontier living – made them seem especially wild in the American imagination.⁴⁰ Projecting refinement and an awareness of fashion helped ease this



Figure 4.2. The scored stucco foundation of the Pink House. A Mormon preference for masonry housing meant that most Mormon homes were built out of brick or stone. When cost was prohibitive or resources for masonry construction were unavailable, wood frame buildings were often clad in stucco and scored with patterns that gave the illusion of masonry construction. The Pink House's stucco cladding and scored foundation reflect this trend. Here, a crack is visible where the stucco has begun to detach from the wood frame. It is possible the pink color of the house was meant to imitate the "salmon pink" brick of Mormon houses in other settlements. (Laura Keim, 2019.)

⁴⁰ Polygamy is not a universal belief or practice among Mormons and never has been, though polygamous sects have long colored perception of Mormon Culture.

perception and affirm their legitimacy as a mainstream religion.⁴¹ Despite their exclusionist beliefs, Mormon aesthetic choices were intimately related to the tastes of American society at large. For the 19th-century Mormon, the spiritual imperative for quality housing manifested in a largely Neoclassical language that projected gentility and order in both floor plan and style. (Figure 4.3.) Neoclassical architecture had a strong foothold internationally over the course of the 19th century, and for that, Mormon preference for the style is simply pursuant to the taste of broader society.



Figure 4.3. Mormon leader Brigham Young's winter home in St. George, Utah. This house dates to the 1870s and exemplifies the 19th-century Mormon preference for Neoclassical style buildings. Neoclassical's orderly nature helped Mormons project a sense of gentility and refinement that boosted their public image, which suffered from associations with polygamy and frontier living. While the Pink House bears little resemblance to Young's home, it does have an exterior symmetry and sense of proportion in keeping with Neoclassical buildings. (Kenneth Mays, "Brigham Young's Winter home," MormonHistoricSites.org. <http://mormonhistoricsites.org/brigham-youngs-winter-home/>.)

⁴¹ Thomas Carter, Katherine Solomonson, and Abigail A. Van Slyck. *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 2015. 95. Accessed August 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt13x1mgz.

Thomas Carter notes that regional and cultural differences between Mormon converts account for a wide variety of building types that fall under the Neoclassical umbrella, not for its relevance to Mormonism, but for its general popularity. That being said, superficial elements of the Neoclassical style including “I”-plan, central hall houses and shared living space remained stubbornly applicable to Mormon housing, even as these features lost popularity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴²

Still, as fashions changed, and resources became available, Mormon architecture generally followed suit. The Pink House follows a Cape Cod-style floor plan and shape that was popular in Eastern state suburbs of the era. Cape Cod homes in shelter publications often included Colonial Revival features – like pedimented doorways and shutters – that would have appealed to Mormons experimenting with their conventional idiom. (Figure 5.6. [page 46.]) In his study of Mormon town planning, Richard Francaviglia notes that Many Mormon houses, especially in the early to mid-20th century, broke with tradition and adopted varied floor plans with central chimneys that mimicked non-Mormon homes throughout the West. Though they may lack the formal planning and Neoclassical trappings of more traditional Mormon architecture, these experimental Mormon houses, including the Pink House, can often still be identified as Mormon. Such houses were usually one and half to two stories tall with dormers, exterior symmetry, and masonry construction.⁴³ The Pink House showcases all of these and also follows a Mormon preference for integrated, as opposed to applied, ornament;

⁴² Ibid. 133.

⁴³ Richard Francaviglia. *The Mormon Landscape...* 18-21.

flourishes are restricted to the flared bargeboards and globe finials at the gable ends of the house, and the scored masonry foundation. (Figure 4.4.)

Nationally popular styles like Neoclassicism and the Queen Anne had a strong influence on Western architecture from its very beginnings and are evident in both Mormon and non-Mormon building stock, from the gingerbread architecture of mining towns to Mormon Neoclassical homes. Histories of the American West often have a frontier focus that favors a linear narrative of progress which, at least in architectural history, presumes primitive beginnings and gradual modernization. This romantic notion



Figure 4.4. These two images show the Pink House's minimal amount of applied ornament, which is restricted to the ball finials on the house's gable ends, seen in the left photo. Mormon preference, at least in humble houses, was for integrated ornament which is demonstrated in the Pink House by the pointed bargeboard ends seen in the right photo. The remainder of the house's exterior decoration is limited to its vibrant colors and the scored foundation. (Laura Keim, 2019.)

leads to a false division of America's Eastern and Western regions and a false narrative of a preindustrial Western settlement.⁴⁴ However, as noted by Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin, America was already in the throes of industrialization when settlement of the West began, and the nation's Eastern and Western economies remained inextricably linked through both homesteads and large commercial ventures. Consequently, the East was a constant influence on Western ideas about taste, and a regular supplier of commercial goods, especially near railroad lines. As evidenced in buildings like the Pink House, frontier conditions did not halt the diffusion of Eastern goods and ideas into the West, where national influences had free interchange with the built environment.⁴⁵ However, homesteads built with non-local materials are often sidelined in architectural histories of the American West, even when they have been consistent contributors to the region's architectural legacy.

Mormon domestic architecture and material culture followed the stylistic trends of broader American society; although for much of the 19th-century, the isolationist impulse of Mormon leaders did partially dictate their consumer habits and thus, indirectly, the community's aesthetic choices. However, emphasis tended to be on quality over style, and substantial latitude in aesthetic choice encouraged individuality within these parameters. As access to Eastern goods became more commonplace Mormons began using the selection afforded by this access to express individualized

⁴⁴ Thomas Carter. *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture in the Western United States*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 1997. 3-10.

⁴⁵ Robert Brown and Daniel Maudlin, "concepts of vernacular architecture." In *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*. 348-349.

identities, and by the 20th century, Mormon consumption and aesthetic taste was fully in line with the rest of the country.

Before the 1860s, the goods made and consumed by Mormons were generally an expression of wealth or social status rather than fashion. Quality and quantity of possessions as well as the display of local patronage were the common metric by which material possessions were judged. At the time, any emulation of broader American aesthetic traditions was likely an unconscious choice rather than a deliberate one attempting to use those vocabularies to convey prosperity.⁴⁶ Mormon craftsmanship was prioritized over Eastern luxuries, especially if a product could be homemade by a member of the community. In 19th-century Mormon culture “homemade” was a term used to broadly identify items made locally by Mormons. The term encompassed things crafted in the home and also things manufactured professionally in Mormon shops. In the latter half of the 19th century the arrival of the railroad in major Western towns gradually eroded the mandated Mormon preference for community goods in favor of Eastern products. Prefabricated architectural ornament from the East first made appearances on otherwise Mormon-made furniture and homes, and ultimately eclipsed

⁴⁶ Kari M. Main. “Pursuing “The Things of This World”: Mormon Resistance and Assimilation as Seen in the Furniture of the Brigham City Cooperative, 1874-88.” *Winterthur Portfolio*, 36 no. 4 (Winter, 2001). 200. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.upenn.edu/stable/pdf/1215384.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8b0bda22ea7bace0a273c991daa69d17>; Because the emphasis on quality and materiality was prized over style, faux-graining and marbling in Mormon homes and on furniture became a notable tradition. These artificial finishes emulated more expensive materials that were unavailable in the West and ultimately formed an aesthetic that was uniquely Mormon. Faux finishes and emulation of more expensive goods was commonplace in Mormon society even after this furniture making tradition waned. (Kari M Main. “Pursuing “The Things of This World...” 202-203.)



Figure 4.5. The Idaho Falls Mormon temple was built in around the same time as the Pink House, not far from John and Bartha’s hometowns. Mormon architects were aware of Modernist styles like Art Deco and the International Style, and it is possible the Moultons were also familiar with them via Modernistic liturgical buildings, such as this one. (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day saints, “Idaho Falls Idaho Temple,” *Churchofjesuschrist.org*. <https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/church/temples/idaho-falls-idaho?lang=eng>.)

locally made items.⁴⁷ By the time houses along Mormon Row were built, prefabricated and manufactured materials were in common usage by the Mormon community as evidenced by at least one mail-order kit house (now demolished) and more modern-looking homes like the Pink House.⁴⁸

Even the most avant-garde styles of the 20th century influenced Mormon design. As with earlier styles like Neoclassical and Queen Anne, Modernist architecture was assimilated into Mormon culture, albeit with hesitancy from church leaders. The

⁴⁷ Kari M. Main. “Pursuing “The Things of This World...” 200, 205.

⁴⁸ “Mormon Row Historic District National Register...” 48; James and Anne May, one of the some of the Row’s first homesteaders, built a prefabricated Queen Anne or stick style-vernacular house along the Row in 1899. The building has since been demolished.

International Style, Streamline Moderne, and other Modernist design movements were familiar to Mormon architects in the American West who began applying them in liturgical contexts. In the late 1930s, a severely Modernist Mormon temple was built in the International Style in Idaho Falls, not far from where John and Bartha grew up. (Figure 4.5.) Church leaders adamantly opposed its ultimate appearance (and poor construction) and refused to dedicate it until 1945.⁴⁹ Though spreading word about the temple was discouraged by church leaders, the Moulton families were close enough to Idaho Falls that they may have heard about or seen images of the temple. Lack of research leaves some ambiguity as to whether Streamline Moderne or the International Style affected Mormon domestic architecture; however, the Pink House is, if not an explicitly Modernist house, at least vaguely aware of these nontraditional styles. Art deco doorknobs and escutcheons show a functional, yet visible appreciation for design on the first floor of the house. (Figure 4.6.) On the exterior, a similar awareness is shown in the simple ball finials and dramatic outward flare of the bargeboards at the house's gable ends.

⁴⁹ Anderson, Paul L. "Mormon Moderne: Latter-Day Saint Architecture, 1925-1945. *Journal of Mormon History*, 9 (1982) 81-82. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.upenn.edu/stable/pdf/23285918.pdf>.



Figure 4.6. Art Deco doorknobs on the first floor of the Pink House show the Moultons had at least some awareness of Modernist architectural styles. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



Figure 4.7. The *Trylon and Perisphere* at the 1939 World's Fair in New York. Images of the pyramidal tower and spherical auditorium were widely published, and the Moultons' may have been familiar with the structures. While unlikely that the Moultons were imitating *the Trylon and Perisphere* when they installed the flared, triangular bargeboards and globe finials on their house, the similarity does suggest the Moultons were drawing inspiration from the same simple shapes and motifs popular in American culture at large. (Samuel Gottscho, *Trylon and Perisphere*, 1939, Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



Figure 4.8. The pointed end of one of the Pink House's bargeboards at the western gable end. This Modernist flourish contrasts sharply with the Moulton's privy and the wild scenery of the Grand Teton mountain range. (Laura Keim, 2019.)

The *Trylon and Perisphere* of the 1939 New York World's Fair were striking, yet simple buildings made of a single pyramidal tower and spherical auditorium.⁵⁰ (Figure 4.7.) Images of the structures were widely published, and it is possible the Moultons were familiar with them when they built the Pink House in the same year. While there is no evidence that the flared, triangular bargeboards and ball finials of the house reference the *Trylon and Perisphere*, they do show that the Moultons were drawing inspiration from the same simple geometric shapes and motifs popular in American culture at large. (Figure 4.8.)

Mormon leaders advocated spirituality and asceticism, but a prosperity gospel and the edict to have quality homes meant that abstention from worldly things was rarely practiced. Instead, most Mormon communities expected members to live within their means but have high aesthetic aspirations. Despite their earlier rejection of non-Mormon goods, by the 20th century, every Mormon from the highest to the lowest class would have developed an awareness of taste as understood by American society at large. Those with limited economic resources or access to Eastern goods might make do with homespun items, but even these would have been as refined as possible.⁵¹ Access to popular literature about interiors, home building, and fashion provided source material for such endeavors and kept Mormons up-to-date on the trends and recommendations of Eastern tastemakers and housing reformers.

⁵⁰ Luke Fiederer. ArchDaily, "AD Classics: Trylon and Perisphere / Harrison and Fouilhoux." *Arch Daily*. 2016. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www.archdaily.com/800746/ad-classics-trylon-and-perisphere-harrison-and-fouilhoux>.

⁵¹ Thomas Carter, *Building Zion...* 95, 108.

5. THE INFLUENCE OF SHELTER PUBLICATIONS ON MORMON AND RURAL HOUSEHOLDS

The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw a large influx of home improvement and lifestyle publications by housing reformers, tastemakers, and mail-order businesses. Some like *Better Homes and Gardens* were generalized in approach, while others like the *Your Farmhouse* series targeted specific demographics, usually those seen as needing particular reform or assistance.⁵² (Figures 5.1., 5.2.) Shelter publications were almost universally intended for a female audience, as women were understood to be the dominant users of domestic space.⁵³ Periodicals helped bestow upon women a moral authority over their interiors and gave them the tools to become experts in subjects ranging from basic decorating to designing floor plans. The rapid expansion of railroad networks and technologically driven improvements in manufacturing meant that women's newfound authority in interior design could be exercised in highly individualized purchases. Individualization was largely cosmetic though, and clear trends are traceable in periodicals, the era's domestic architecture, and, in the case of Mormons, enduring building traditions adapted to a modern idiom. Mormon

⁵² *Better Homes and Gardens*, June 1940; United States Department of Agriculture., United States Bureau of Plant Industry, United States. Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics. *Your farmhouse*, Series, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture). Hathi Trust Digital Library. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x030450696&view=1up&seq=1>.

⁵³ "Shelter" literature is a catchall term for publications, magazines and books that encompass subjects ranging from interior decorating to home construction and improvement.



Figure 5.1. Shelter publications like *Better Homes and Gardens* were targeted toward women, who were seen as the moral authority over the home. These publications dispensed advice on topics like interior decorating and kept readers abreast of national design trends. (*Better Homes and Gardens*, June 1940.)

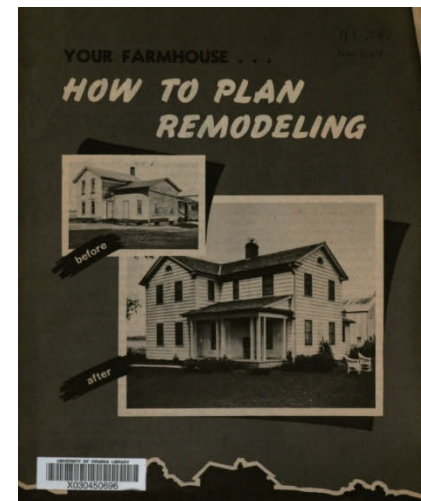
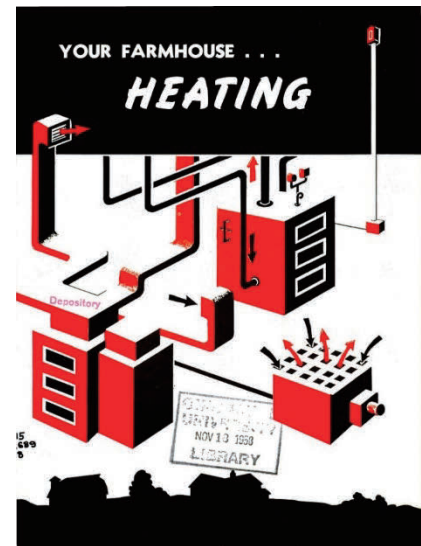
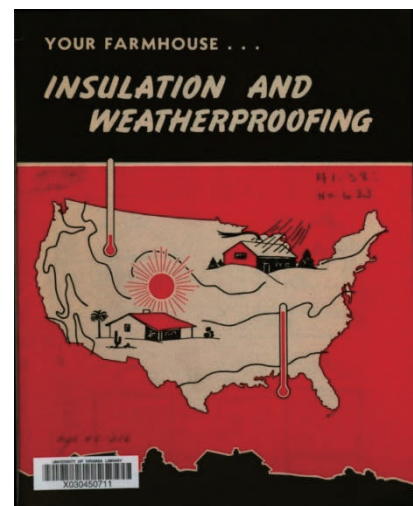


Figure 5.2. Shelter publications like the *Your Farmhouse* series published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture were often targeted at demographics seen as needing particular support, such as those living in rural homes without modern amenities. (*Your Farmhouse* series. Hathi Trust Digital Library. <https://www.hathitrust.org/>)



architecture of the late 19th and early 20th centuries straddles this unique divide, as homeowners blended Mormon legacy with modern inspiration. Mormon houses of this period range from stubbornly traditional to liberally adoptive of the taste and consumerism of American society at large. The unchanged nature of the Pink House provides a valuable window into how shelter publications impacted the design and decoration of prewar rural homes, an opportunity which is rarely afforded outside of the publications themselves. Furthermore, the Pink House illustrates how 20th century Mormons balanced the abundance of choice and ideas available in such publications with the traditional aspects of Mormon architecture.

By the 20th century, many Mormons lived in better homes than those of previous generations and were less culturally orthodox. Mormon anti-assimilationist rejection of prefabricated goods from the East had largely dissipated, and they began expressing themselves through Eastern idioms and available products found in popular literature. Church leaders had also begun to recognize that meeting national standards of refinement bolstered the sect's public image. Two women, Leah Dunford Widtsoe and Alice Merrill Horne, were instrumental in bringing about this adoption of Eastern ideals and tastes. In the late 19th century, national tastemakers like Edith Wharton and Candice Wheeler began focusing on the moral power of the built environment and espoused the environmental determinist viewpoint that genteel, artistic interiors would create genteel people. Widtsoe and Horne seized upon this moralizing philosophy and "sacralized" the material culture of mainstream America. Horne believed that "homes

built on artistic lines have an abiding influence for honesty, refinement, and spirituality,” and likewise Widtsoe proclaimed: “Our daily surroundings not only shape character but make character.” Both wrote a series of articles between 1899 and 1902 for a monthly Mormon publication *The Young Woman’s Journal*.⁵⁴ Horne published “Suggestions on Artistic Homebuilding” which dispensed decorating advice on specific topics from wallpaper to floor plans. Widtsoe published “Studies in Household Art” and “Furnishing the Home,” in which she laid out a vision for a Zion filled with fashionable homes that reflected their owners through the latest styles – homes that served as eternal, spiritual abodes. These articles gave Mormons permission to break away from the Neoclassical traditions of the 19th century, expand their design vocabulary, and use resources from the East. In effect, Horne and Widtsoe established a millenarian imperative for artistic houses that paved the way for Mormons as they assimilated into broader American society in the early 20th century.⁵⁵

Farmhouse literature first appeared in the 1830s and was marketed to both women and men for the purpose of education. However, farm literature proliferated during the housing reform movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵⁶ Housing progressives were mostly white, middle class experts who published out of land grant

⁵⁴ The Young Woman’s Journal was the monthly magazine of the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association (published out of Salt Lake City.)

⁵⁵ Josh E. Probert. “Leah Dunford Widtsoe, Alice Merrill Horne, and the Sacralization of Artistic Taste in Mormon Homes, Circa 1900.” In *Mormon Women’s History: Beyond Biography*. Edited by Ed Farleigh, Rachel Cope, Amy Easton-Flake, Keith A. Eriksen, and Lisa Olsen Tait. 167-184. (Madison WIS: Dickinson University Press), 2017. 167-178.

⁵⁶ Marilyn Irvin Holt. *Linoleum, Better Babies, and the Modern Farm Woman, 1890-1930*. (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press), 2005. 8

universities, professional societies, and the US Department of Agriculture.⁵⁷ Rural houses particularly interested reformers, who described the demographic's lack of amenities and old housing stock as "the rural condition." By 1920, most farm homes had only rudimentary plumbing and minimal electricity, if any. Farm families worked an average of thirteen hours a day, and farm women in particular were singled out for bearing the highest burden of the inefficient and unhealthy interior conditions imposed by primitive living.⁵⁸

Reform efforts intended to educate and improve the lives of rural women were well justified. While they operated largely out of their homes, farm women were considered farmers in their own right, and labored as such. Unlike a great many job titles of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, "farmer" was a gender-neutral term that encompassed both men's and women's pursuits. In 1900, over 300,000 women were making their living as farmers, not just as rural housewives, but as major contributors to farm operations. These women knew the economics of farming, how to run the

⁵⁷ Mary Anne Beecher. "Building for "Mrs. Farmer": Published Farmhouse Designs and the Role of the Rural Female Consumer 1900-1930." *Agricultural History*, 73, no. 2 (1999) 255. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://proxy.library.upenn.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.upenn.edu/docview/1296099397?accountid=14707>.

⁵⁸ Mary Anne Beecher. "The Influence of the Housing Reform Movement on Proposed Farmhouse Design (1900-1930)" Thesis. Iowa State University, January 1, 1988. 2-12. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=18960&context=rtd>.



Figure 5.3. Farm women were seen by housing reformers as bearing the highest burden of the primitive housing conditions that characterized rural housing for much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Farm women were responsible for the majority of non-farming activities and used their homes as workspaces. Bartha is pictured here in the Pink House mudroom (porch) making butter for sale to local dude ranches. The refrigerator behind her indicates that the photo was taken after the Moultons installed electricity in the 1950s. (Photo No.2004.0048.07, Philip Sultz Collection, Stan Klassen Research Center, Jackson Hole Historical society & Museum.)

business, and often did physical labor alongside their families.⁵⁹ Like the other women in Grovont, Bartha worked full-time to help maintain her homestead. Women along the Row were responsible for the majority of non-farming activities, and many tasks were done communally. They tended to each other's sick families, assisted in childbirths, and made large communal meals for the men during threshing and round-up seasons. Women along the Row canned their own produce, churned their own butter, made their

⁵⁹ Marilyn Irvin Holt. *Linoleum...* 15-18.

own soap, and handmade their families' clothing and bedding. They were also involved in outdoor farming activities like raising chickens and assisting in the pastures and fields when necessary. Women were the entrepreneurs in charge of selling dairy products like cottage cheese, butter, and cream to local businesses and dude ranches.⁶⁰ (Figure 5.3.)

Shelter publications show that women were not only trusted to make decisions for their farms and homes, but were expected to do so. Farmhouse designs targeted a female readership and thus women were the primary designers of floor plans, not just cosmetic interior design as was the case in urban homes. Shelter publications for rural households were, in fact, generally focused on the design and planning of homes as opposed to cosmetic or stylistic improvements and often included floor plans.⁶¹ Because of their unique professionalized identity, farmhouses were considered a distinct building type that functioned differently than their urban and suburban counterparts. They were subject to the universal domestic needs of eating, sleeping, and childcare, but were also at the center of the labor, business, and commercial functions of a farm. As such, much of the prescriptive literature on farmhouse design advised on dust and dirt collection, ventilation, and distinctive divisions of utilitarian and domestic space. Spaces unique to farmhouses, like workrooms, washrooms, porches, mudrooms, and workman's quarters featured prominently on most farmhouse plans.⁶² These were grouped with kitchens

⁶⁰ "Mormon Row Historic District National Register..." 49.

⁶¹ Mary Anne Beecher. "The Influence..." 26.

⁶² A "porch" was a generalized term in farmhouse literature meaning a roofed exterior space, (as we understand them today) and also rooms with increased ventilation and a looser association with the outdoors. Literature regarding the Pink House Frequently references the mudroom at the rear of the house as a porch.

near the back entry to curtail the spread of dirt and germs into areas of the house used for sleeping and leisure. (Figure 5.4.) Additionally, basements accessed near the kitchen were understood to be necessary for food storage, especially in rural homes which served as centers of substantial food production and had limited access to groceries or markets. (Figure 5.5.) Materials were also addressed in shelter publications. Delicate



Figure 5.4. This view from the Pink House mudroom into the kitchen and stairwell illustrates the interconnectedness of working spaces in early 20th-century farmhouses. Bartha would have used both the mudroom and kitchen for food preparation (making the double-sided cabinet particularly useful) and the Moulton children would have washed up in the mudroom before going upstairs. Basement and bathroom access is from the hallway through the kitchen. Note how these working spaces are clad top to bottom in hard, washable surfaces to facilitate cleaning in these easily soiled areas. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

materials like carpet and fabrics were discouraged in workspaces that required frequent cleaning, and “sanitary” washable wallpapers were encouraged in even the cleaner, domestic areas of the house.⁶³ The wooden walls and linoleum floors of the Pink House hallways, kitchen, and mudroom are relics of the era’s preference for cleanable surfaces in areas exposed to high levels of dirt and grime. By contrast, the house’s more domestic spaces feature the softer touch of wallpaper.



Figure 5.5. View looking up from the Pink House basement into the hallway. Basements were important places for food storage in farmhouses, and access to them was usually adjacent to the kitchen, as it is here. Note the shelves made from recycled fruit crates. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

⁶³ Mary Anne Beecher. “Building for “Mrs. Farmer...” 253-259.



Figure 5.6. The pink house is a Cape Cod style house in plan and elevation. Cape Cod houses often featured Colonial Revival elements that would have appealed to Mormons working within a Neoclassical idiom. Other features of Cape Cod houses include exterior symmetry, steep gables, restrained ornamentation, dormers, and central chimneys. The pink house features all of these elements and bears a striking similarity to “the Newport” a prefabricated house featured in *the New Liberty Homes* catalogue between 1936 and 1939. (Laura Keim, 2019, [left.]; Lewis Manufacturing Company, *New Liberty Homes*, 1939, 19, <https://archive.org/details/NewLibertyHomesC.1939/mode/2up>, [right.])



The recommendations of housing reformers were taken seriously, and the vast majority of owner-designed floor plans submitted and featured in rural shelter publications reiterated this division between work and domestic spaces.⁶⁴ Bartha Moulton is known to have been a vocal influence on the design of the Reed and Shirly Moulton house and likely designed the majority of her own home. She and her daughter Frances selected the Pink House wallpapers and almost certainly selected the Pink House's other finishes and hardware.⁶⁵ Though the plan and design is largely Bartha's own creation, the Pink House attests to her ability to merge national trends with the advice of housing reformers. In form, the Pink House is a Cape Cod style house, characterized by its one-and-a-half stories, exterior symmetry, central chimney, steep gables, dormer, and restrained ornamentation. (Figures 5.6.) Widely depicted in shelter magazines, Cape Cod houses were popular throughout America in the 1930s. The floor plan of the Pink House bears a striking resemblance to "the Newport," a prefabricated house featured in the *New Liberty Homes* catalogue of kit houses published between 1936 and 1939.⁶⁶ Not only is the Pink House kitchen layout similar to an image in the catalogue's back pages, an exterior window on the Newport plan is mimicked by an unusual interior window in the Pink House bathroom that serves as a rob light (interior window.) (Figures 5.7., 5.8.) Kit homes were not unheard of along Mormon Row, and it

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 15, 24.

⁶⁶ Lewis Manufacturing Company. *New Liberty Homes*. 1939. 19.
<https://archive.org/details/NewLibertyHomesC.1939/mode/2up>.

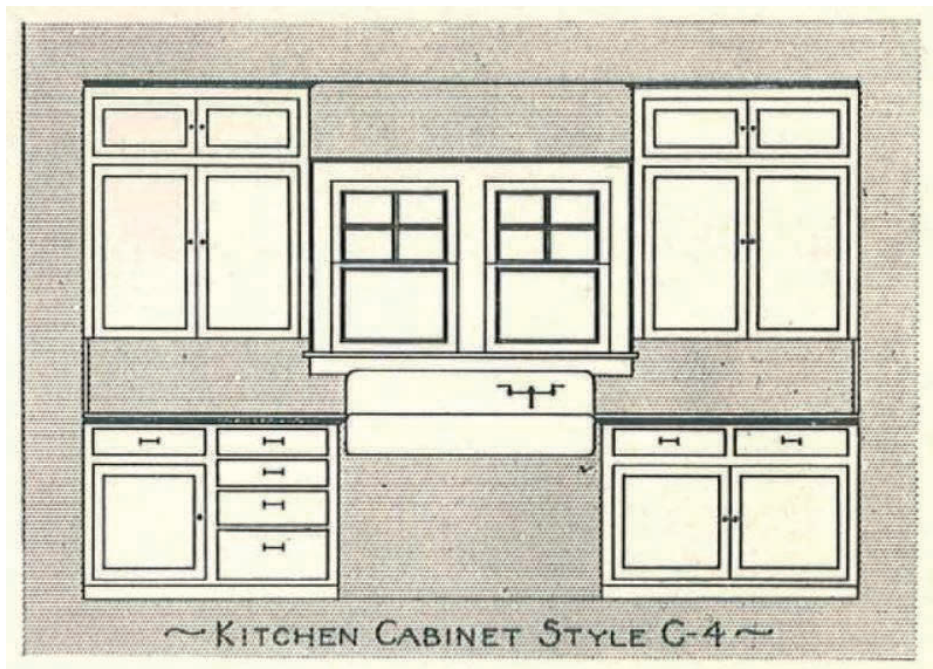


Figure 5.7. The Pink House kitchen is similar in design to many of those published in shelter magazines in the first half of the 20th century. Here, a striking resemblance can be seen between the Pink House Kitchen and a design illustrated in the 1939 *New Liberty Homes* catalogue of prefabricated houses. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019, [left.]; Lewis Manufacturing Company, *New Liberty Homes*, 46 [right.])

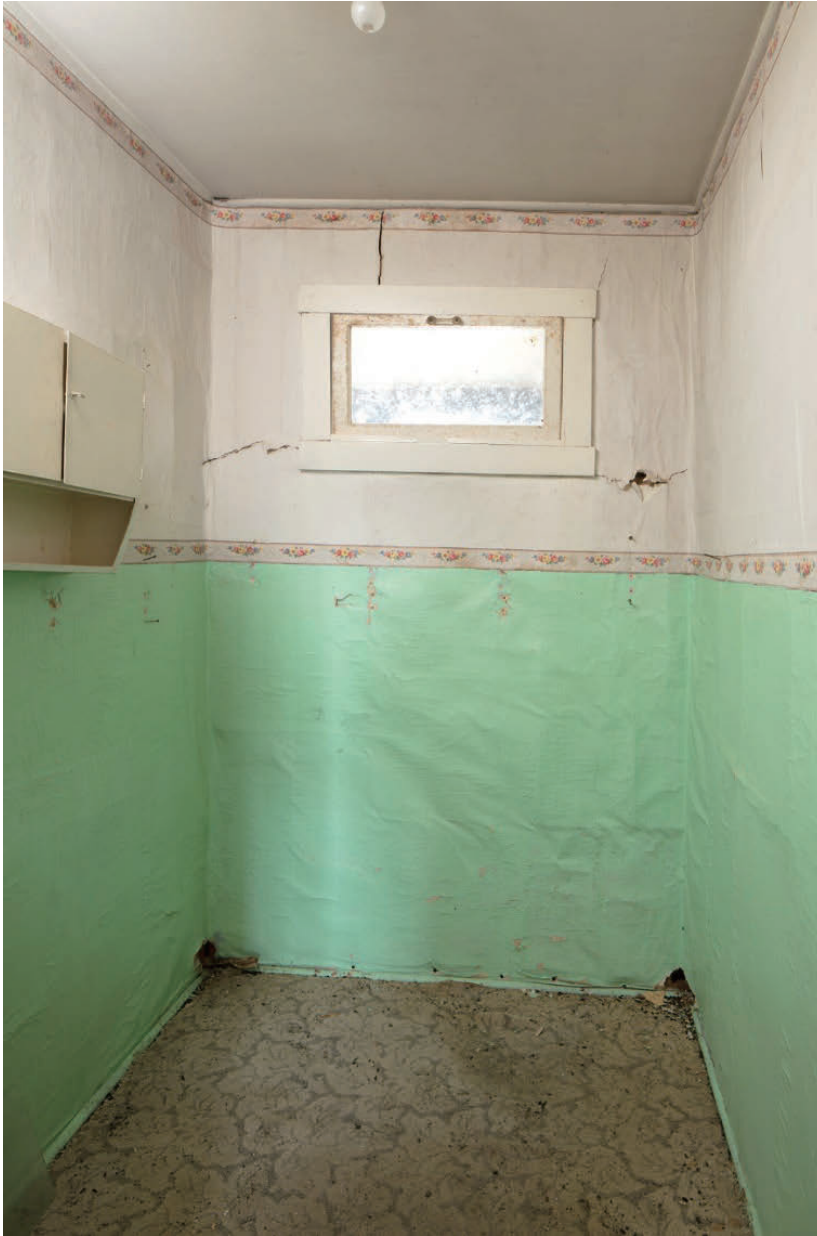


Figure 5.8. The rob light (interior window) of the Pink House’s dry bathroom allows daylight from the Mudroom into this interior space. The rob light closely corresponds with an exterior facing bathroom window on the “Newport” plan published in the 1939 *New Liberty Homes* catalogue of prefabricated houses (see figure 5.9.) (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

is possible the Moultons were familiar with this publication. The Pink House’s status as a farmhouse accounts for most of the major differences between it and the Newport. The chimney is centered to help distribute warmth in a home heated by a wood stove, the stairs are reversed to provide easy basement access from the kitchen, and the living room door has been moved from the kitchen to the hallway in accordance with

farmhouse conventions. Most notably, the Pink House features a large rear mudroom. (Figure 5.9.) Together, the mudroom and kitchen showcase the rural appeal of a house divided into working and domestic space. Not only would the mudroom have quarantined dirt and provided a place to wash up before entering the house, it served as the place where Bartha prepared cheese and butter to sell to local dude ranches and other businesses. While the Pink House does not feature workmen's quarters, the Moultons did have a bunk house, where Reed and Shirly briefly lived. Exclusive access to the upstairs from the mudroom may have been in anticipation of separate bedrooms for hired hands once the children moved out. (Figure 5.9., 5.13. [Page 58.])

Electricity, plumbing, and heat were also of great concern to housing reformers, especially in the 20th century as these amenities became standard in urban housing while farmhouses continued to lag behind despite decades of rural housing reform. In 1920, fewer than 25 percent of farmhouses had electricity and running water.⁶⁷ By 1927, electricity remained at 25 percent, though 33 percent of farmhouses had adopted rudimentary plumbing in the kitchen, and 57 percent had telephones.⁶⁸ Electricity and plumbing were aspirational goals often reflected in 20th-century, prewar farmhouse plans. In addition to the separate bedrooms and workspaces prescribed by housing reformers, bathrooms and dry sinks primed for plumbing were often preemptively installed. Evidence within the Pink House suggests that the Moultons planned to install plumbing at some point. Water was supplied by a well on the property and would have

⁶⁷ Mary Anne Beecher. "The Influence..." 6.

⁶⁸ Mary Anne Beecher. "Building for "Mrs. Farmer..." 253.

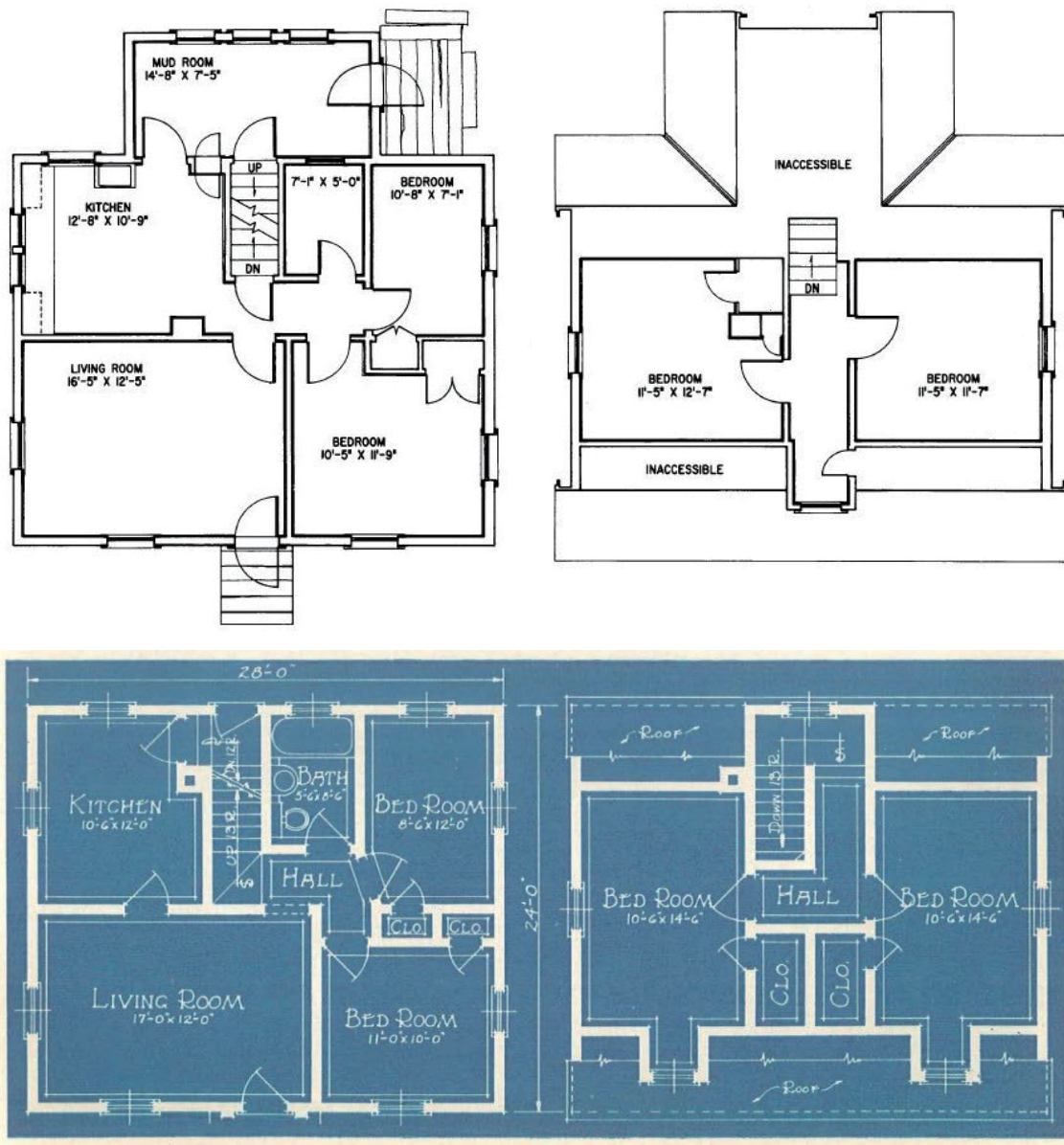


Figure 5.9. The floorplan of the Pink House (top) bears many similarities to the “Newport” plan featured in the 1939 *New Liberty Homes* catalogue (bottom.) Shelter publications often informed the design of farmhouses and it is possible the Newport informed Bartha’s layout of the Pink House. The farmhouse status of the Pink House accounts for some of the major differences between the two: the chimney is moved to the center of the house to more evenly distribute heat, a large mudroom is at the rear to serve as a workspace, and the orientation of the stairs has been reversed to link the bathroom, basement, and upstairs hallway to the major working areas of the house while keeping the domestic spaces roughly separate. (Historic American Building Survey, WY-152-A, [top.]; Lewis Manufacturing Company, *New Liberty Homes*, 19, [bottom.])



Figure 5.10. Evidence in the Pink House suggests the Moultons may have designed their kitchen and bathroom in anticipation of plumbing that was ultimately never installed. The sink in the kitchen is a commercially made sink that drained into a receptacle below, (likely not the blue box that is there now.) The sink would have been ready for plumbing if the Moultons had chosen to upgrade. Note the shadow of a mirror installed over the backsplash, one of many clues illustrating the daily life of the Moulton family. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

been carried into the house. Though the kitchen sink drained into a receptacle below, it was factory made and ready for hookup to a drain line. (Figure 5.10.) The dry bathroom in the center of the house certainly afforded the family privacy, but may also indicate unrealized plans for a completed bathroom. The bathroom was never finished to the level of the rest of the house and is walled with only cardboard and scrap paper. The room did not merit much attention as private space where no one in the family would have lingered, but such a lack of investment seems unusual, even compared to the house's unfinished closet spaces which are walled in fiberboard and plywood. (Figure 5.11.) Additionally, the Moultons would have recognized the need for cleanable, water



Figure 5.11. Most of the Pink House’s utility spaces and closets are clad in plywood or fiberboard panels. The dry bathroom is one major exception and is walled with cardboard and paper. This is unusual for a room that would normally require cleanable, water resistant walls as are demonstrated in the kitchen, mudroom, and hallways of the house. The make-do quality of this space suggests the Moultons may have planned to install plumbing and bathroom fixtures at a later date. To the left is a view into John and Bartha’s bedroom closet, and to the right is an image of the bathroom corner revealing the room’s cardboard and paper construction. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019, [left.]; Noah Yoder, 2019, [right.])

resistant walls in a bathroom, just as they were necessary in the kitchen, mudroom, and upstairs hallway, where there was a washbasin. The lack of investment in the bathroom suggests its make-do construction was intended to be temporary until plumbing and fixtures could be installed.

Occasionally, spatial arrangements recommended by the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) were implemented prior to electricity. The REA was formed in 1936 and provided federal loans for the installation of electrical distribution systems to serve rural areas. Like other organizations established to improve the lives of rural Americans, the administration published literature on housing design with a particular focus on electrical wiring, though they also attempted to bring homes up to middle class standards in terms of décor and media consumption. Electric light was a significant improvement over the kerosene lamps used by farm families, and the change in quality of light often prompted significant redecorating. Wiring crews traveled the country installing electricity in barns and homes, usually installing a single ceiling mount fixture and one outlet in each room of the house. Plans for electrifying rural homes were not always realized, however, and some houses were only partially electrified, often by the homeowners themselves in lieu of professionals.⁶⁹

While active in the prewar and interwar years, the REA was most effective in the postwar period, which saw the greatest influx of rural electrification. Prosperity in

⁶⁹ Sarah Rovang. "The Grid Comes Home: Wiring and Lighting the American Farmhouse." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23, no. 2 (2016): 65-67, 77, 78. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/645656>.

American suburbs contrasted dramatically with rural conditions, and much of America viewed rural living as a foil to civilization and the modern experience. This dichotomy impelled the REA to redouble their efforts, and by 1948 three out of every four farms were electrified via REA financed systems, municipalities, and public agencies. By the 1950s, at least 800 million consumers had been added from the REA's inception in 1936.⁷⁰ Electricity came to Mormon Row between 1952 and 1957, in the form of private generators and REA efforts, at which time the Pink House became one of the many rural homes to benefit from the postwar push for electricity.⁷¹ Physical evidence suggests that the Moultons may have wired their property themselves. In contrast with most REA installations, the Moulton barns and outbuildings were not electrified, and the house wiring fails to meet REA standards. Where REA installations required a 60-amp fuse panel, the Pink House has only a 30-amp panel.⁷² (Figure 5.12.) Additionally, the variety of electrical hardware and light sockets indicate the house was wired over time or with extra parts from neighbors and family.

⁷⁰ H. S. Person. "The Rural Electrification Administration In Perspective." *Agricultural History* 24, no. 2 (Apr 01, 1950). 13,49. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://proxy.library.upenn.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.upenn.edu/docview/1296001161?accountid=14707>.

⁷¹ "Mormon Row Historic District National Register..."

⁷² This was probably sufficient for a house that was unlikely to operate more than one refrigerator and a few lights at any given time. Along with the fact that there is no outlet near the stove, the low amperage negates the possibility that an electric stove (generally requiring a 50-60-amp circuit) was used in the house at some point. This conclusion is, however, somewhat contradicted by evidence of an altered heating system, and the presence of an electric stove in the bunkhouse. More research is needed to confirm this deduction.

Postwar farmhouse literature began to heavily feature homes with established plumbing and electricity as an implied standard. The 1950s' general boost in rural household amenities meant that farmhouse literature could engage more directly with cosmetic interior design and modernized floor plans instead of housing reform. Literature aimed at rural households began to convey an idealized vision of farm life that gradually eliminated the hybridized farmhouse with both work and recreation spaces. The new farmhouse was fashionable, not just functional, created stronger divisions between male and female space, and centered on domesticity as seen in urban

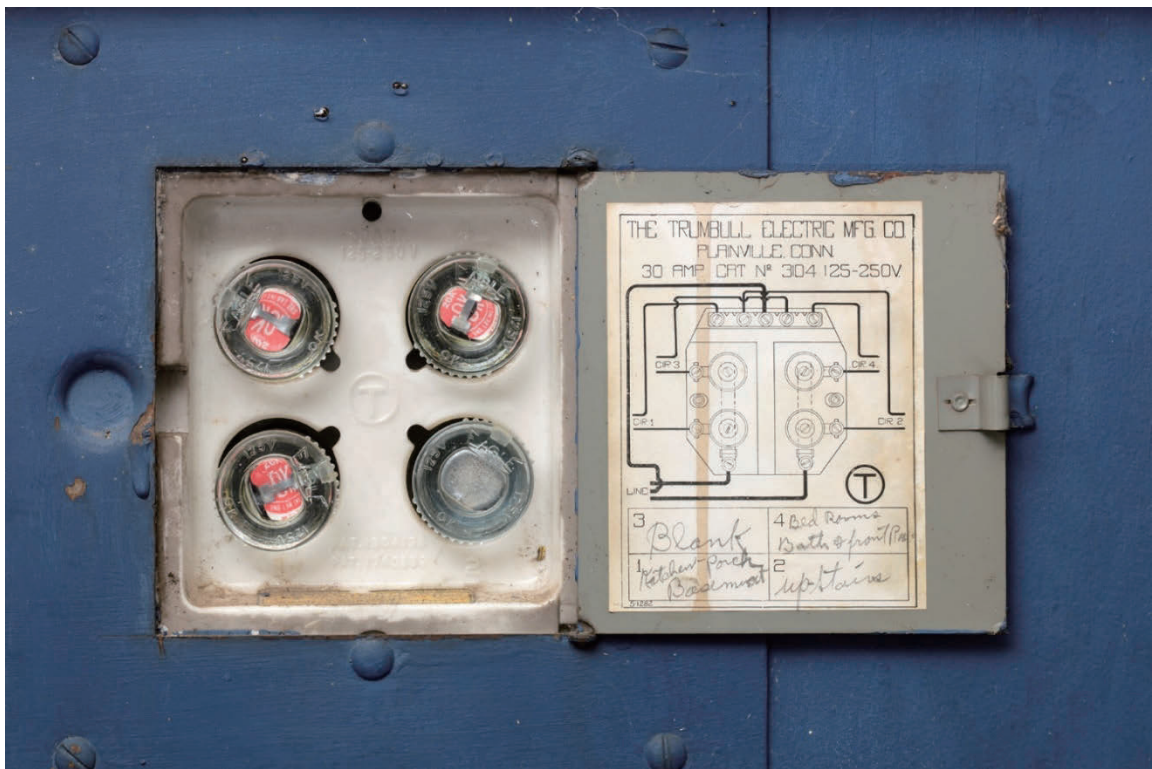


Figure 5.12. The Pink House's 30-amp fuse panel does not meet the 60-amp standard of the Rural Electrification Administration, suggesting the Moultons may have wired the house themselves. Additionally, there is no fuse dedicated to a range, suggesting the house never had an electric stove, though other evidence suggests the opposite. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

and suburban homes.⁷³ The Pink House's "sewing room" is a nod to the differentiation between feminine and masculine space, but it is more likely influenced by the published floor plans of middle and upper class suburban houses than by the postwar trend toward gendered spaces. In all other respects, the Pink House is a strong example of a post-housing reform, prewar farmhouse. It has clear divisions between domestic and working space used by both genders, and showcases planning and design predictive of amenities like plumbing and electricity which either arrived later or never materialized. The contrast between prewar and postwar farmhouse design is even evident along Mormon Row to this day. Bartha was quite taken with the layout and design of the Pink House and advocated for its replication when Reed and Shirley built a farmhouse of their own in the 1950s.⁷⁴ While Reed and Shirley's house bears a number of similarities, like exterior stucco and Cape Cod leanings, it appears Bartha's influence was tempered. The Reed and Shirley Moulton House is a decidedly postwar farmhouse. Not only did it feature running water and electricity when Reed and Shirley moved in, the house's spatial priorities were substantially different than those of prewar farmhouses like the Pink House. The kitchen faces the front, as opposed to the farm, and utilitarian space is not substantially differentiated from the domestic areas of the house; access to the bedroom is through the kitchen, and access to the bathroom, where one would wash up, is through the living room. While closets are a notable feature of the Pink House, they are almost a point of pride in Reed's home, which showcases elaborate built-in

⁷³ Sarah Rovang. "The Grid Comes Home..." 67.

⁷⁴ A&E Architects. "Historic Structures Report..." 15.

features throughout the first floor. Reed’s house also lacks a basement for food storage.⁷⁵ The contrast between these two layouts built by the same family within 15 years clearly shows how the Pink House exemplifies the post-reform, prewar farmhouse. (Figure 5.13.)

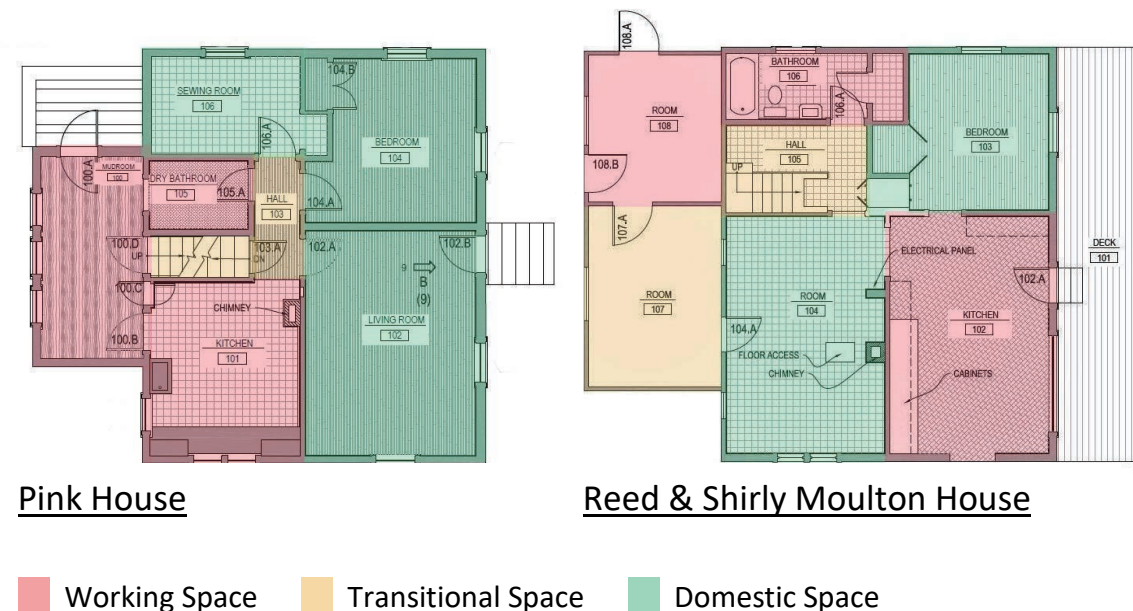


Figure 5.13. Farmhouses built prior to WWII often had floorplans that divided the house into separate zones for working and domestic use. Working rooms, like bathrooms, mudrooms, and kitchens, required frequent cleaning and were grouped together at the rear of the house to quarantine dust and dirt from domestic areas. The Pink House (left) is exemplary of this kind of planning. The kitchen, mudroom, bathroom, and basement are clustered together with minimal overlap into transitional spaces, and fully separate from domestic ones. The Reed and Shirley Moulton House (right) was built in the 1950s and, though similar in plan, shows less allegiance to the thematic grouping of rooms. Access to working spaces like the kitchen and bathroom requires entry into domestic areas and vice versa. The Kitchen faces the front of the house instead of the back (a postwar characteristic) and also features indoor plumbing. Together, these two houses reflect a significant postwar shift in farmhouse priorities on Mormon Row and elsewhere. (A&E Architects, Mormon Row Historic Structures Report. [Color additions by Noah Yoder, 2020.])

⁷⁵ The Reed Moulton Homestead has much less written about it than the Pink House. Further study would be needed to fully understand the range of influences on its design and use.

6. OVERVIEW OF WALLPAPER HISTORY, DESIGN, AND USE

The Pink House's wallpapers indicate the extent of Moulton family's adoption of broader American taste, perhaps more than any other aspect. They also demonstrate the ubiquity of prefabricated modern materials in 20th-century Western homes, and the effect of housing trends and periodicals upon the Moulton family's aesthetic preferences. An abundant 32 wallpapers have been discovered within the Pink House, and it is possible that still more remain hidden beneath the current wallpaper or were removed in one of the house's many redecorating campaigns. Wallpaper was one of the most democratic and broadly accessible decorative materials in the early 20th century and those found in the Moulton house relate to wider trends in interior decoration that affected all levels of society in both urban and rural areas.

While the Pink House's wallpapers are artifacts of the 20th century, they are part of a greater legacy of wallcoverings coming out of the 19th century and earlier. Wallpaper development in western Europe began in earnest around 1650.⁷⁶ The first examples were off cuts from printing presses printed with cheap, crude designs and used for paper linings in boxes, trunks, and books. In England, individual sheets called dominos were linked into rolls and were used as wall coverings over and around

⁷⁶ Wallpaper as a concept is difficult to date and evidence of papered walls can be found around the world. Wallpaper dating to 2000 B.C has been identified in Egypt, and paper wall coverings were extant in China as early as 200 B.C., long before Europeans began experimenting with them. Most wallpaper histories (at least in English) tend to have a western European focus and cite various French and English examples dating from 1509 to 1639 as the "earliest" wallpapers.

fireplaces by 1639.⁷⁷ These early wallpapers were printed with water-based, distemper paints in patterns reminiscent of Indian chintz and other imported fabrics.⁷⁸ Gradually, more elaborate block-printed and hand painted designs were introduced, and artistic masterworks of wallpaper became luxury items.⁷⁹ Wallpaper made its transition to North America in the 18th century as decoration for homes of the mercantile elite.⁸⁰ By 1800, wallpapers were available to the middle and upper classes both along the eastern seaboard and further inland.⁸¹

Industrialization in the 1840s dramatically changed the wallpaper industry, making wallpapers more affordable to the average household, and wallpaper experienced widespread popularity in most American homes for most of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1851, the United States produced four million rolls of wallpaper and boasted 40 wallpaper printing machines, more than any other country. As the production of wallpaper became increasingly technologized, finely printed wallpapers became less common while cheaply printed wallpapers became a staple for middle and lower-income populations. Wallpaper consumption increased sixfold between 1851 and 1860, and by the turn of the 20th-century, American consumption of

⁷⁷ Robert M. Kelly. "Toward A History..." 19.

⁷⁸ Distemper paints were used into the 20th century, though by that time they were uncommon.

⁷⁹ Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner. "Historic Wallpapers, 1750-1949." Exhibition Notes. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, spring 2003. Accessed August 9, 2020.
https://digitalcommons.risd.edu/risdmuseum_journals/22.

⁸⁰ Robert M. Kelly. "Toward A History..." 19.

⁸¹ Frangiamore, Catherine Lynn. *Wallpapers in Historic Preservation*. (Washington, DC: Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service), 1977. Accessed August 9, 2020.

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tpsd/wallpaper/contents.htm.

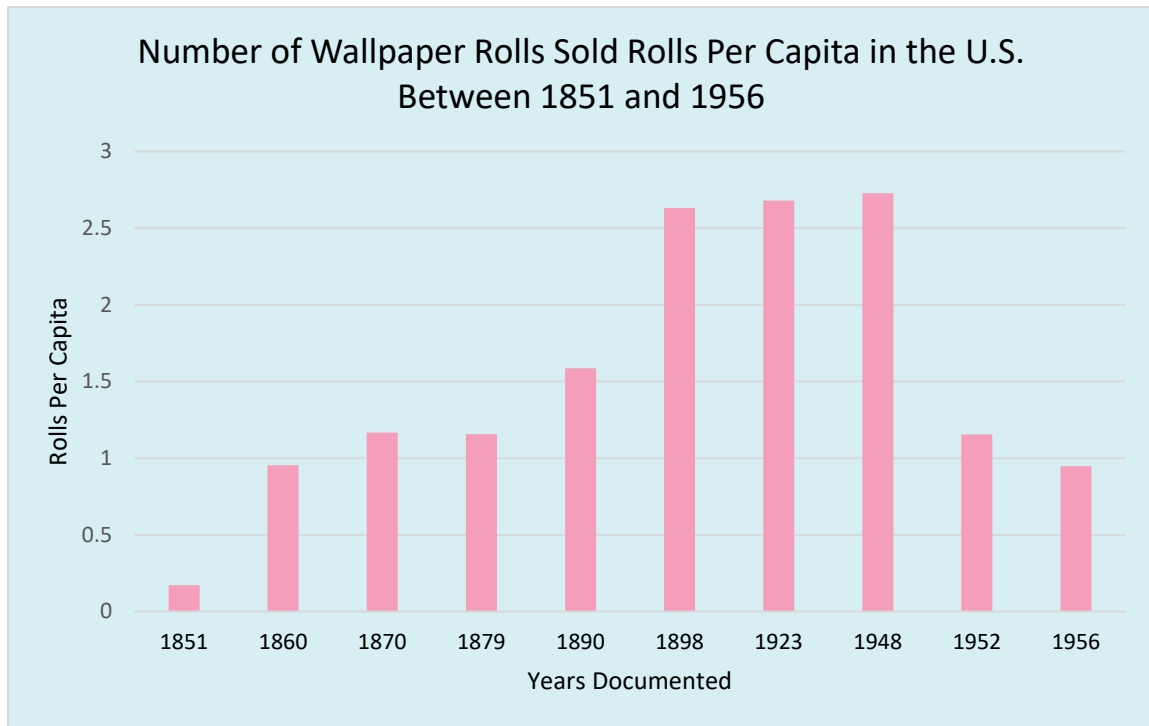


Figure 6.1. U.S. wallpaper sales and popularity experienced steady growth between the 1850s and 1940s, topping at just over two and half rolls per person in 1948. The 1950s saw a precipitous drop in sales due largely to changing fashions and increased competition from the paint industry. (Data sourced from: Robert M. Kelly, “Toward A History...,” 32.)

wallpaper averaged two rolls per person every year.⁸² Wallpaper remained the standard wall finish in America from the latter half of the 19th century through the 1940s. In fact, despite going out of favor among high-style interiors, wallpaper production increased precipitously in the early 20th century, topping at nearly three rolls per person in the 1940s. In 1948 around 500 million rolls were printed, at least 400 million of which were sold to American consumers – equal to the entirety of wallpaper sales in the 1920s. In the early 1950s, however, wallpaper production dropped dramatically to 300 million, or just over one roll per person, and by 1966 production had plummeted to 69 million rolls,

⁸² Robert M. Kelly. “Toward A History...” 20.

marking the end of over a century of immense popularity.⁸³ (Figure 6.1.) The Pink House's layered wallpapers show a linear narrative of working-class wallpapers that reflect both the economic height of the wallpaper industry, its innovations, and its decline in popularity.

Inexpensive wallpaper of the early to mid-20th century was generally sold by wholesalers and distributed to hardware, paint, and drug stores to be sold. These wholesalers would select up to a thousand wallpaper patterns annually. Most would store and distribute from a series of smaller businesses that allowed them to stock up on large quantities of paper and store them regionally for distribution. A large reserve of paper was necessary for wholesalers because wallpaper companies printed limited runs which were sold by the roll, despite homeowners and businesses needing highly variable quantities.⁸⁴ In a 1948 census, three wallpaper wholesalers were identified in the Mormon Culture Region, only one of which was located in Idaho. This was almost certainly the only wallpaper wholesaler that served the drug and hardware stores in Jackson Hole where the Moulton family likely purchased their wallpapers.⁸⁵ While the

⁸³ Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique*. (New York: Abrams Books), 1994. 206.

⁸⁴ Howard T. Hovde "Wall Paper Wholesaling... 342-343.

⁸⁵ United States Bureau of the Census. "Retail Trade: 1939, part 1." in *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Census of Business*. Volume 1. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Print Office), 1943. Accessed August 9, 2020.

<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=nPG5xfSimk4C&oi=fnd&pg=PR12&dq=Sixteenth+Census+of+the+United+States,+1940:+Census+of+Business,+1939+&ots=S2CwXtmHWe&sig=5x6XhIW0p9NpPuY5aDXbgGRq8zU#v=onepage&q=hardware%20idaho&f=false>; In 1940 there were only eleven hardware stores in Idaho and six in Wyoming. (United States Bureau of the Census. (United States Bureau of the Census. "Retail Trade: 1939...")

quantity of wallpaper this company moved is unknown, they made an average of \$190,000 in sales with \$67,000 in overstock at the end of the year.⁸⁶

The technological advancements that allowed wallpaper to become a ubiquitous finish in American households also influenced the appearance and design of wallpapers. Innovations including the development of oil-based inks, embossing stamps, paper variations, and metallic powders affected the appearance and performance of wallpaper throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the invention of the machine printing cylinder was the chief technological advancement in printing. These cylinders featured a wood core embedded with brass cloisonné-like patterns used for outlining the printed design. Dotted patterns were made with blunted brass pins embedded in the roller. Areas requiring a printed field were filled with a dense felt to



Figure 6.2. Detail of a machine printing cylinder for wallpaper. The printing cylinder revolutionized the wallpaper industry and allowed papers to become an inexpensive material for working class households. Many of the Pink House wallpapers were printed with such cylinders which have a wooden core and feature brass patterns used to outline the printed design. Areas requiring a printed field are filled with dense felt to carry the color. These features all leave characteristic marks on the final design. (Belfry Historic Consultants Inc., "Lim and Handtryck Traditional Rollers," *Belfryhistoric.com*. http://belfryhistoric.com/lim_rollers.html.)

⁸⁶ Shepard Cohen. "The Marketing of Wallpaper in Our American Economy." Thesis. Boston University, 1952. Accessed August 9, 2020. 46. <https://open.bu.edu/handle/2144/13552>.

carry the color. (Figure 6.2.) Occasionally, wooden relief rollers and copper intaglio rollers were also used for specific techniques; however, the standard cylinder of wood, brass, and felt was the longest-lasting, and most cost-effective design.⁸⁷ Machine-cylinder-produced papers can be identified by a distinct inking pattern marked by colored outlines and a streaky infill oriented in the direction the paper was printed.⁸⁸



Figure 6.3. Inexpensive wallpapers made with machine cylinders have characteristic markings that can be used to identify them. Most of the pink house wallpapers were printed with machine cylinders featuring a wooden core with brass and felt relief patterns. To the left is a detail of wallpaper *GB.W.029* in the girls' bedroom. Small vertical streaks in the green and dark pink inks indicate felted areas and the direction of the roller. To the right is wallpaper *BB.W.034* in the Boys' bedroom. The linear diaper pattern of the background and small outlines around the printed shapes indicate the brass outlines of the roller. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019, [Left, cropped for illustrative purposes.]; Laura Keim, 2019, [right.])

⁸⁷ Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall...* 135-136, 150.

⁸⁸ Frangiamore, Catherine Lynn. *Wallpapers in Historic Preservation*. (Washington, DC: Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service), 1977. Accessed August 9, 2020.

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tpsd/wallpaper/contents.htm

Most (but not all) of the inexpensive wallpapers in the Pink House were printed with cylinders and show these characteristic marks. (Figure 6.3.)

These telltale marks came to be understood as a sign of poor quality by tastemakers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, who had begun touting the idea that beauty could be attained through simplicity. They saw wallpaper as unnecessary ornament clamoring for attention and smacking of industrialization, mass production, and irresponsible consumption. To them, the near infinite variety of patterns and affordability of the material rendered it a seductive threat to the good-taste of interiors everywhere. Despite its ample discouragement in shelter publications, wallpaper still appealed to the vast majority of Americans in the early 20th century. Where reformers and tastemakers saw wallpaper as a moral failing, the working class saw it as a luxury possible with prosperity, and wallpaper proliferated in the average American home.⁸⁹ By the 1930s, wallpaper had regained some of the popularity it had lost in high fashion interiors, only to be assaulted again by the rise of the Modernist movement in the form of Streamline Moderne and the International Style. As a rule, Modernism – as espoused by European architects like Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius – was hostile to ornamentation in general. The Modernist focus on extreme utility and “honesty” of materials made ornamentation seem obsolete, and wallpaper quickly became disassociated with high style, unless designed by a celebrity artist or architect. By 1952, the sway of clean, minimal Modernist design finally took hold among the greater

⁸⁹ Jan Jennings. “Controlling Passion...” 253-255.

population, and previously stable wallpaper sales plummeted and never fully recovered, even with the introduction of new, Modernistic designs and technological advancements in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁹⁰ The rise of the Modernist movement and changing aesthetic preference was likely not the only factor in the decline of the wallpaper industry. Throughout its history, price was perhaps the determining factor in the material's appeal to the average consumer, and by the 1950s inexpensive materials like paint began to have the competitive edge in pricing.

Wallpaper manufacturers produced hundreds of thousands of wallpaper patterns over the 20th century.⁹¹ Wallpaper companies customarily printed one or two runs of wallpaper a year, each with up to 800 patterns.⁹² Later editions of the same print were rare, and it was common practice for the larger wallpaper companies to destroy the previous season's printing cylinders annually.⁹³ This system of designing, printing, and wholesaler distribution kept papers relatively current across the nation. Stylistically, however, the average consumer continued to prefer traditional wallpapers, and most remained aesthetically conservative into the mid-1950s, when Modernist interior design and technological innovation demanded more inventive patterns.

Designing wallpapers was a highly specialized art done largely by in-house designers who understood the limitations of the material and had some awareness of

⁹⁰ Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall...* 190, 206.

⁹¹ By the late 19th century the US wallpaper industry was dominated by a single wallpaper cartel referred to as the "Ring" or "the Combination" though they were originally the wallpaper manufacturers association. However, many smaller companies existed which tended to produce inexpensive papers and fewer designs. (Robert M. Kelly. "Toward A History..." 28.)

⁹² Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall...* 206.

⁹³ Robert M. Kelly. "Toward A History..." 28.

the economic trends of the field. While this conferred some economic advantage, it rejected the more pioneering artistic taste of designers outside the industry and ultimately prevented wallpaper companies from heeding Modernist design to the fullest.⁹⁴ Still, wallpaper design did undergo some aesthetic shifts to accommodate the whims of Modernist design. The 1920s and 1930s saw the rise of innovative Art Deco and Streamline Moderne designs, and the Modernist movement generated interest in simple designs that enlivened walls in an expressive, as opposed to ornamented way. However, the trend toward simplicity had only a transitory effect on the cheaper papers of the common household where tradition reigned.⁹⁵ Before WWII, common wallpapers remained resolutely flowery with a preference for pale greens, blues and beiges with floral chintz patterns and friezes. Friezes from multiple eras are represented throughout the Pink House, through their presence in the house may be more a function of hiding imperfect end cuts of the main wallpaper than fashion. (Figure 6.4.)

Between 1942 and 1945, the War Production Board deemed wallpaper a non-essential item, and severely limited the American wallpaper industry, resulting in a 25% reduction in new designs and a 50% reduction in the use of critical materials. Metallic powders were eliminated, and the weight of raw paper stock was reduced. This suspension of design and materials is often referred to as the wallpaper “design freeze.” During this period, many wholesalers sold off overstock from previous years and manufacturers recycled designs. However, when the design freeze lifted in 1945,

⁹⁴ Shepard Cohen. “The Marketing...” 57.

⁹⁵ Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall...* 192, 198.

innovative new patterns showcased ambitious use of metallic highlights and heavily pigmented backgrounds possible with postwar abundance. Patterns in common wallpapers continued to be largely traditional in this era but began using unorthodox colors and backgrounds imitating the texture of wood, stone, and textiles. In the 1950s these patterns were further enlivened by high contrasts, unusual scaling and heavy texture. Initially, postwar patterns with a high degree of abstraction were usually reserved for more expensive wallpapers. However, a weakening market for wallpaper in the face of Modernist interior design trends drove wallpaper designers to introduce abstraction more broadly. Technological advancement also became imperative to the



Figure 6.4. Wallpaper friezes are a common decorative element throughout the Pink House and were used to hide the imperfect end cuts of the main wallpaper as well as ornamentation. Clockwise from top left: *BT.W.056* in the bathroom, *JB.W.021* in John and Bartha's bedroom, *SR.W.014* in the sewing room, and *BB.W.035* in the boys' bedroom. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

survival of the wallpaper industry. In the 1950s and 60s, foil and fabric backings, PVC and vinyl coatings, and pre-pasted papers all made showings in an appeal to the requirements of Modernist architecture and modern life.⁹⁶ --

Rural consumers were likely aware of the Modernist leanings of mid-century interior design, however a rural preference for traditional wallpaper designs continued well past its postwar decline in popularity. Inexpensive wallpapers had a long-standing tradition of being applied to even the most rudimentary homestead interiors.⁹⁷

Wallpaper served utilitarian functions uniquely suited to the drafty and dirt-prone rural household. Not only was wallpaper known to provide insulation for drafty buildings, its low cost made it ideal for the frequent redecorating of easily soiled interiors.⁹⁸ 1940s era wallpaper lasted two to six years depending on the level of wear, so it was common for houses, especially rural ones, to re-wallpaper several times a decade.⁹⁹ Escapism may have also been a part of wallpaper's appeal for rural households where solitude prompted the excitement of frequent change and lively backdrops that couldn't be accommodated by adherence to the "good taste" espoused in shelter publications. Unlike their suburban and urban counterparts, rural homes were often sparsely

⁹⁶ Lesley Hoskins. *The Papered Wall...* 204-214.

⁹⁷ Robert M. Kelly. "Toward A History of Canadian Wallpaper Use: Mechanization 1860-1935." *Material Culture Review* 40. (2015). 21-22. Accessed August 9, 2020.

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3444245; Wallpaper was found in settler homes and homesteads worldwide, including Australia, western Canada and the American West, where wallpaper was even used to decorate sod and log cabin walls.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 22, 29.

⁹⁹ Howard T. Hovde "Wall Paper Wholesaling." *Journal of Marketing*, 14, no. 2 (1949). 343. Accessed August 9, 2020.

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/002224294901400228?casa_token=9fSoS6mZN8oAAAAA:6sF7H7z0zlbygvTCWfB8GvJvZXgk-O2lcqC56g2twC6wKQ_xxBIBeToTcujiRlpyoLMnqCtQXngX6g.

furnished in the early 20th century, and wallpaper allowed for reimagining interior space without the expense of additional or replacement furniture.¹⁰⁰ It is hardly surprising, then, that a wide array of inexpensive wallpapers are among the most intriguing and character defining features of the Pink House.

¹⁰⁰ Jan Jennings. "Controlling Passion: The Turn-of-the-Century Wallpaper Dilemma." *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (December 1, 1996): 263-264. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.upenn.edu/stable/pdf/1215237.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A37dac5cf875e6e0e025f9dc1a3406314>.

7. WALLPAPERS IN THE PINK HOUSE

Wallpaper in general is a complex topic due to the sheer variety of papers printed, the complex market, and variations in taste by class, location, and personal preference. Furthermore, dating wallpaper can be a difficult task. Not only are papers rarely dated, frequent revivals, stubborn traditionalism, pattern recycling, and a prodigious volume of designs make them hard to categorize into aesthetic periods. The Pink House's wallpapers offer an opportunity to construct a narrative of interior fashion because of their layered quality and discreet timespan. Of the 20th-century wallpapers that have received scholarly attention, most correlate with high culture, either in cost or association with celebrity artists.¹⁰¹ Thus, the inexpensive wallpapers that proliferated in the average American home in the early 20th century can usually be only broadly categorized. At this time, the Pink House's wallpapers are roughly classified as "early to mid-20th century," but clues in their manufacture, design, geographic location, and stratigraphy do help link them to the greater story of American wallpaper and help narrate the history of the Moulton family as their tastes and lifestyle changed..¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Baines, Emily. "Modernism in Textiles and Wallpaper." Nene College Conference, Northampton, England, November 12, 1994. 12. Accessed August 9, 2020. <https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/2086/15818/Modernism%20in%20Textiles%20and%20Wallpaper.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁰² "Stratigraphy" here refers to the layering of wallpapers evident throughout the Pink House. It is a term frequently used in scholarly studies of layered historic finishes.



Figure 7.1. The pink color of the first wallpaper in the Sewing room (*SR.W.008*) is unusual for a late 1930s wallpaper. It may have been chosen for its feminine quality in a room primarily for women. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



Figure 7.2. The first wallpaper in the girls' bedroom (*GB.W.023*) is predominantly blue and features free flowing flowers. Both are common to 1940s wallpaper. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



Figure 7.3. The second wallpaper in the Boys' bedroom (*BB.W.032*) is predominantly green and features gestural flowers. Both are common to 1940s wallpaper. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

Though the Pink House does feature some Art Deco elements, like the triangular doorplates on the first floor, the house was built in 1938, after the heyday of art deco wallpapers. Instead, the original interiors largely showcased the traditional patterns and colors associated with the late 1930s and early 40s. In color, the earliest wallpapers in the Pink House generally follow the common pale brown, blue, and green color palette of the era.¹⁰³ However, the pink color of wallpaper *SR.W.008* in the sewing room is an anomaly which may have been chosen for its more feminine quality in what was likely a room primarily for women.¹⁰⁴ (Figure 7.1.) Florals of the time were generally more gestural and less geometric than the patterns immediately preceding them. The first layer of wallpaper in the Girls bedroom, *GB.W.023*, features a free flowing, floral pattern that embodies aesthetic.¹⁰⁵ (Figure 7.2.) *BB.W.032*, the second wallpaper in the boys room also utilizes more gestural flowers. (Figure 7.3.) Two of the original wallpapers, *BB.W.031* in the boys' bedroom and *JB.W.017* in John and Bartha's room, have relatively rigid floral patterns, but rely heavily on stippled and linear designs common to some inexpensive wallpapers of the era because they were less work to produce. The sheer density of stippling and linear patterns indicate that these may have

¹⁰³ The initial wallpaper colors fall into three categories: beige: *LR.W.001*, *LR.W.012*, *JB.W.017*, *BB.W.031*; blue: *GB.W.023*; and green: *BB.W.03*; with the pink *SR.W.008* being a notable exception.

¹⁰⁴ All of the houses interior finishes are labeled and individually described in Appendix B. (page 103.) Finishes are identified numerically with two prefixes the first indicating room location and the second indicating type of material. For Example, the first identified finish is *LR.W.001* (Living Room. Wallpaper. Numerical identification.) The numerical identification for each finish is unique.

¹⁰⁵ The Girls' and Boys' bedrooms are identified on the floorplans of the Mormon Row Historic Structures Report by A&E Architects.



Figure 7.4. The tight, stippled pattern on wallpapers *BB.W.031* in the boys bedroom and *JB.W.017* in John and Bartha's bedroom indicates their patterns may have been printed with engraved intaglio rollers in lieu of the standard wood, brass, and felt rollers used for the majority of the Pink House wallpapers. (Noah Yoder, 2009.)

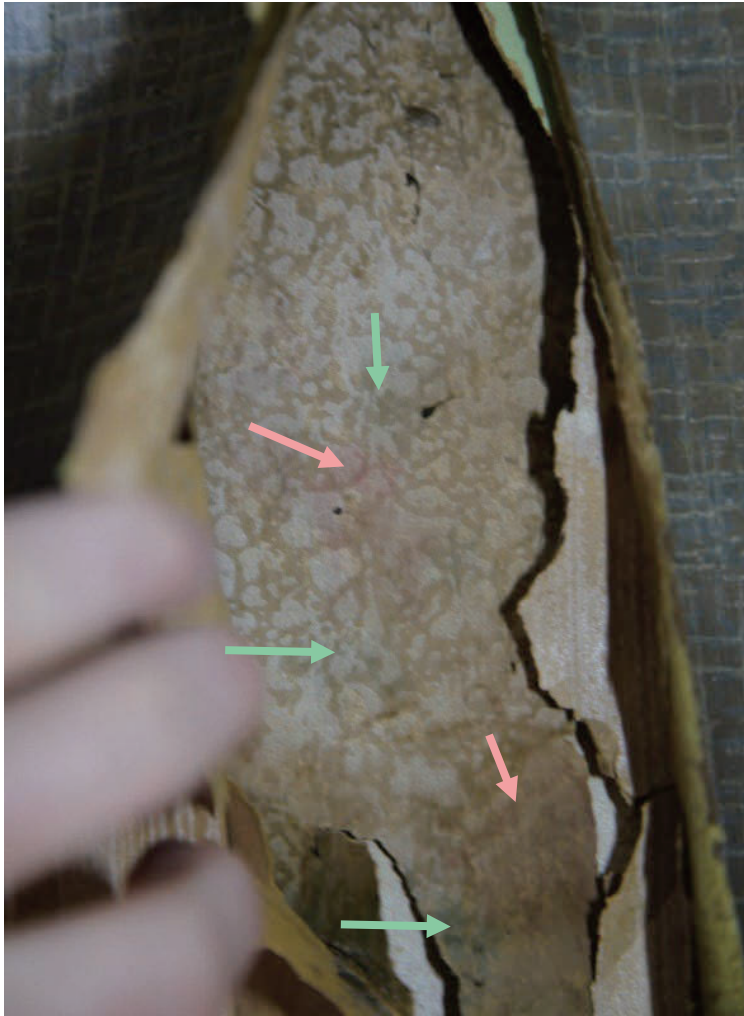


Figure 7.5. The first layer of wallpaper in the living room (*LR.W.001*) shows evidence of pink and green staining which may indicate an additional pattern that has since washed away. Pink stains are indicated by pink arrows and green stains are indicated by green arrows. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

been printed with a copper intaglio cylinder as opposed to the conventional wooden cylinder with brass relief. (Figure 7.4.) In the living room, the first wallpaper, *LR.W.001*, features an atypical mottled pattern that at first glance appears to be just an all-over texture printed only with white, oil-based ink on an unpigmented brown paper.¹⁰⁶ Such simple patterns were possible at the time, but generally unpopular in working class houses and the Moultons would have been very cutting edge to have such simple

¹⁰⁶ The base paper of *LR.W.001* appears brown today, but it is entirely possible that it has discolored with age.

wallpaper in their home. However, closer inspection of the wallpaper reveals subtle metallic residue and stains of vibrant pink and green which imply a floral pattern may have been printed overtop. (Figure 7.5.) If this additional pattern did exist at one point, the fact that it has been washed away and obscured indicates that it was printed in a notably inexpensive, water-based ink.¹⁰⁷ Fully washable, oil-printed papers had become the industry standard by at least 1934 which suggests this wallpaper could have been either an older design or printed by a smaller company looking to cut corners.¹⁰⁸



Figure 7.6. The second layer of wallpaper in the living room (*LR.W.012*) features a rigid floral and striped pattern that is atypical for 1940s or 50s wallpaper. Its design may indicate it was a reprint or overstock installed during the wallpaper design moratorium of the mid-1940s. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

¹⁰⁷ The area where this wallpaper was observed had suffered water damage at some point which could have washed off any water-based inks or deposited pink and green stains. Excavation in another area of the room might reveal clearer evidence of an additional pattern.

¹⁰⁸ Shepard Cohen. "The Marketing..." 20.

Given that the Pink House was built in 1938 and the wallpaper design freeze began four years later, it is possible the Moultons did not re-wallpaper any rooms in their house until after 1945. *LR.W.012*, the second wallpaper in the living room, may feature some metallic elements which suggests it was applied either before or after the moratorium on metallic powders was in place. Its rigid floral and striped design and homogenous color palette make it something of an anomaly for wallpaper in the 1940s or 50s, and in some ways harkens back to more formal designs from earlier decades. (Figure 7.6.) Similarly, *SR.W.009*, the second paper in the sewing room, is a simple, blue-and-white striped paper with a rigid acanthus leaf pattern that seems oddly reserved, possibly signifying a paper sold from old wholesaler overstock. (Figure 7.7.) By contrast, the comparatively small number of decorative schemes in the living room (four total) indicate that the family may have lived with both the first and second wallpapers for many years. Other second-layer wallpapers in the house seem neither especially cheap nor out of fashion enough to be certain they were installed between 1942 and 1945, and some of them feature flashy metallic elements that indicate they were applied after the design freeze.

The mid-century trend for simplicity, abstraction, and texture in wall decoration is also evident in the Pink House. For a time in the 1950s, the Moulton's living room featured no wallpaper at all and was simply painted pale green. (Figure 7.8.) The room's final finish, *LR.W.004*, features an entirely abstract hatching pattern reminiscent of a coarsely woven textile. This paper evidences the pervasive preference for enlivened,



Figure 7.7. The second layer of wallpaper in the sewing room (SR.W.009) is a formal blue pattern that may have been installed during the wallpaper design moratorium of the 1940s. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



Figure 7.8. John Moulton, possibly sitting in the Pink House living room when it was painted green (LR.P.003.) (Find A Grave, "John Alfred Moulton," *Findagrave.com*. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5343903/john-alfred-moulton>.)



Figure 7.9. Wallpaper LR.W.004 in the living room and sewing room features an abstracted pattern reminiscent of heavy fabric. Simple, abstracted patterns were a common wallpaper motif in the 1960s which was likely when this wallpaper was installed. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

rather than decorated walls that dominated wallpaper in the 1960s. (Figure 7.9.) This is also the final wallpaper of the sewing room. As the primary decorator of the Pink House, it was likely Bartha's last wallpaper selection before she died, which John never changed. Furthermore, this wallpaper covers what used to be a heating outlet for a wood stove, indicating that it was put up sometime after John and Bartha began spending winters in Jackson sometime in the 1960s. Wallpaper *SR.W.011* in the sewing room shows a similar appreciation for simplicity and texture, with its heavy embossing and abstract patterns.¹⁰⁹ (Figure 7.10.) The sewing room has six wallpapers, more than most rooms in the house, and appears to be the room where Bartha was most free to



Figure 7.10. Wallpaper *SR.W.011* features heavy embossing and an overall abstracted pattern that shows the Moulton's appreciation of enlivened, textural surfaces. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

¹⁰⁹ It is possible that these two finishes are the same wallpaper, though limited observation suggests two. Further excavation in the sewing room is needed to confirm this.



Figure 7.11. (Above.) Wallpaper *GB.W.025* features a playfully complex pattern that uses metallics, woodgrain, lace, and flower motifs and likely dates to the late 1940s or early 50s. Metallic elements, allusions to natural textures like wood, and creative complexity characterize many postwar wallpaper patterns. (Laura Keim, 2019.)



Figure 7.12. Wallpaper *JB.W.018* features a woodgrain pattern in silver. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

experiment with new patterns and colors. This textured wallpaper shows that Bartha had adopted abstraction as a design element long before the final wallpaper, possibly as early as the late 50s.

Despite the gradual trend toward simplicity in postwar wallpapers, some designs remained very exuberant, especially after the design freeze of the early forties.

“Naturalistic” backgrounds imitating stone and wood were overlaid with ample metallics and colorful patterns. Two wallpapers in the Pink House exemplify this trend: *JB.W.018*, the second layer of wallpaper in John and Bartha’s bedroom, and *GB.W.025*, the second layer in the girls’ bedroom. *GB.W.025* features metallic elements that indicate an immediate postwar pattern. Additionally, its background is a woodgrain pattern in blue, with colorful flowers and lace swags superimposed on top. (Figure 7.11.) *JB.W.018* also features a wood grain pattern, though it is more playfully highlighted in silver on white. (Figure 7.12.) Later, in the mid to late 1950s, more saturated colors with oversized ornament came into vogue. In the Pink House this trend is on display with wallpaper *JB.W.020* in John and Bartha’s bedroom, which features oversized lace, red ribbon, and white roses on a beige background. Along with the previous two layers of wallpaper, this layer is torn, as opposed to cut, to accommodate the installation of the light switch. This implies that it was installed sometime before electricity. This wallpaper is so on trend that it can be confidently dated to the 1950s. (Figure 7.13.)

Technological innovations in manufacture and materials also affected the wallpapers of the Pink House. Wallpaper *GB.W.029* in the girls' bedroom features pink wild roses on a shimmering, metallic ground that appears to coat the paper. (Figure 7.14.) This is likely vinyl or PVC coating that would have become available in the 1950s and standardized in the 60s for its durability and washability.¹¹⁰ The fact that this wallpaper is used as an accent wall corroborates this date range. Accent walls had become popular around this same time, as wallpaper companies began recommending them for open floor plan suburban homes as a way to compete with the paint industry. Strangely, further wallpaper innovations are found in the Pink House bathroom, which



Figure 7.13. The oversize rose motif and deep color of wallpaper *JB.W.020* in John and Bartha's bedroom is on trend for 1950s era wallpaper. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

¹¹⁰ Laboratory testing or microscopic analysis would be required to confirm this material composition.



Figure 7.14. The background of wallpaper *GB.W.029* in the girls' bedroom has a silvery sheen not made with metallic powders. This is likely a PVC or vinyl coating that would have been available in the 1950s and 60s. This wallpaper is also used as an accent wall, a popular decorating trend of the era. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



Figure 7.15. Finish *BT.CP.048* is a contact paper that was used to wallpaper the upper half of the bathroom. Finish *BT.CP.047* is a fabric backed vinyl "paper" used as a dado in the bathroom. both feature tropical motifs and date to the late 1960s or 70s. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

has one of the most complex finish stratigraphies in the house. Finish *BT.CP.047* is a fabric-backed vinyl “paper” with an abstract tropical edge that makes up the lower half of the room. Finish *BT.CP.048* is a contact paper, also with a tropical theme, printed using a photographic printing process in lieu of a traditional paper roller. Both likely date to the late 1960s or early 70s. (Figure 7.15.)

8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER CONSERVATION AND INTERPRETATION

The Pink House exterior and Mormon Row have been major tourist attractions in Grand Teton National Park for many years. Recent studies and projected archaeological work along the Row underline its historical interest to Park Service employees, independent scholars, and the public. As new information is gathered a more complex interpretation will be needed to convey the many unique aspects of the Row. Previous interpretive plans for the Pink House value it for its capacity to tell the story of late-



Figure 8.1. Defoliating wallpapers in the girls' bedroom are a visual representation of the layers of history, (Joseph E.B. Elliot Photography, 2019.)

stage homesteading along the Row. The history of the Moulton family and their life in the Pink House is a well-documented foundation for forthcoming interpretation. While this thesis cannot lay out a new interpretive plan for the Pink House, it offers insight into the Mormon building traditions, shelter publications, and national markets that influenced Mormon Row. Together, the information in this thesis and the content of earlier Mormon Row studies can inform an appropriate re-interpretation of the John and Bartha Moulton Homestead that takes local history, external influences, and proper conservation into account.



Figure 8.2. Nails, hanging hardware, and the shadow of a mirror suggest the location of a washstand and basin in the second-floor hallway. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

It is imperative that any future conservation and interpretation of the Pink House respect the current finishes, hardware, and layered nature of the wallpapers just as they are. (Figure 8.1.) While conservation and repair are necessary for the longevity of the building and public accessibility, the house is an artifact, and the survival of these finishes, hardware, and even superficial damage is essential to its story.¹¹¹ Repainting, re-wallpapering, and repairs risk creating an inaccurate representation of the house as an authentic, surviving artifact, and should be undertaken with great caution. Details, even unsightly ones, can offer information that adds color and reality to a historical narrative. The Pink House is full of these interesting characteristics: shadows of a mirror and hanging hardware in the upstairs hallway reveal the location of a washstand and



Figure 8.3. Knife marks on the chrome edge of the kitchen counter indicate Bartha was Right-handed. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

¹¹¹ There is precedent for exhibiting historic buildings in a state of arrested decay. Two notable examples are Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, PA., and Drayton Hall in Charleston, SC. Both utilize decay as an atmospheric element and a teaching tool.



Figure 8.4. Sewing pins stuck in the walls show that the Moulton family decorated with lightweight paper decorations. (Laura Keim, 2019.)

basin for the children; (Figure 8.2.) knife marks on the kitchen counter indicate Bartha was right-handed;(Figure 9.3.) sewing pins stuck in the walls suggest the family decorated with magazine clippings and lightweight paper decorations; (Figure 8.4.) and poorly registered wallpaper patches in the boys' bedroom indicate the location of a bed and the amateur skillset of whomever wallpapered the room. (Figure 8.5.) These details matter and, if highlighted, can be exciting to seasoned historians and tourists alike, and enliven the past in the present imagination.

The Pink House deserves focused thinking and planning around conservation and interpretation, both of which should be undertaken carefully with the understanding that the house is a rare survivor of mid-20th-century frontier architecture with an uncommonly intact interior. Some potential interpretive themes for the site are:

- *Mormon architecture and planning*

The name “Mormon Row” begs for interpretation of the site as a place of Mormon cultural heritage. Calling attention to the distinctly Mormon aspects of the Row’s organization and stylistic choices would link it to greater themes of Mormon identity, homesteading, and material culture.

- *Mid-20th-century frontier living*

The Pink House paints an uncommonly clear picture of late stage frontier homesteading and is the most intact representation of life along Mormon Row. The building’s floor plan, design, and interior decoration could easily be highlighted as an embellishment to the current interpretation of the house and the Mormon Row as a whole. Didactics



Figure 8.5. Poorly registered wallpaper in the boys’ bedroom suggests the location of a bed and reveals the amateur skillset of the wallpaper installer. (Laura Keim, 2019.)

detailing the daily lives of the Moulton family and how they are represented in the fabric of the house would provide a rich and memorable public interpretation.

Conservation of the house's existing fabric is essential to accurate illustration of the Moultons' time there and would be jeopardized by heavy-handed repairs and updates to the structure's interior finishes and amenities.

- *Middle and working-class wallpapers as rare artifacts*

The surviving historic wallpapers in the Pink House are an incredible asset that deserves further study and the analysis of a specialist paper conservator. The installation of reproduction wallpapers, repainting, and other cosmetic repairs would compromise the integrity of the site. Having an in-situ collection of middle-class wallpapers from a discrete timespan and chronically understudied era of wallpaper history makes the Pink House a notable destination for wallpaper scholars. Additionally, the house offers a wonderful opportunity to present wallpaper history to the public.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis journey began shortly before the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, during which many academic resources, including libraries and archives, and laboratories were closed. While this thesis was only planned as a small work in the continuing study of Mormon architecture, Mormon Row, and historic wallpapers, potential research remains undone. The following are a few recommendations for the next scholar of the Pink House to consider.

- *Microscopic analysis of the Pink House interior finishes*

Microscopy could reveal many things about the interior finishes of the Pink House including material composition, date, and decorative scheme. Eight samples were taken from the Pink House but were never analyzed (See index for locations and intended purposes). Additional samples of each wallpaper could be taken to better understand their material composition.

- *Analysis of the region's weather patterns and their effect on wallpapers.*

For decades, the Pink house wallpapers have endured dramatic shifts in temperature, humidity, and other environmental conditions not regularly imposed on wallpapers. The effects of the environment on the condition of the Pink house papers and the potentially specialized requirements for their conservation and preservation merits further study.

- *Further excavation and study of the Pink House's wallpapers*

In addition to analyzing the wallpapers microscopically, further excavations of the stratigraphy in John and Bartha's bedroom could help identify the pattern of wallpaper *JB.W.019*. It is possible that there are unidentified wallpaper borders at the top edges of the sewing room walls that could be found with further sampling or excavation. Further excavation of the sewing room wallpapers could also yield a better image of wallpapers *SR.W.010* and *LR.W.012*.

- *Comparison between the Pink House's wallpapers and other historic wallpapers*

Historic wallpapers can be found in many notable collections and comparable historic sites. Direct, scholarly comparison to similar specimens would help date the Pink House wallpapers, reveal stylistic influence, and concretely relate the house to larger trends in the history of 20th-century wallpaper. Some significant collections of wallpaper that may include 20th-century examples can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Cooper-Hewett Museum, Historic New England, and the Winterthur Museum.¹¹² The wallpapers in the Tenement Museum of New York City might also offer potential parallels.¹¹³

¹¹² Victoria and Albert Museum. Cromwell Road, Knightsbridge, London. SW7 2RL, United Kingdom. <https://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/wallpaper>; Cooper Hewett, Smithsonian Design Museum. 2 East 91st Street, New York, NY. USA. <https://collection.cooperhewitt.org/departments/35347503/>; Historic New England. <https://www.historicnewengland.org/explore/collections-access/wallpaper/>; Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library, 5105 Kennett Pike, Winterthur, Delaware, <http://contentdm.winterthur.org/digital/>.

¹¹³ Lower East Side Tenement Museum. 103 Orchard Street, New York, NY, USA. <https://www.tenement.org/>.

- *Digital renderings of wallpapers*

Renderings of damaged, fragmented, or partially hidden wallpapers could be made to assist interpretation by the Park Service and aid comparisons between the Pink House's wallpapers and those in other historic houses and archives. It is recommended that digital renderings be used for scholarly and didactic purposes, and not to develop reproduction wallpapers to be installed in the Pink House. Re-wallpapering would compromise the historic integrity of the interior.

- *A typology of 20th-century Mormon domestic architecture in the American West*

As yet there is no comprehensive survey or typology of Mormon domestic architecture of the 20th century as there has been for the 19th century. Scholars such as Thomas Carter, Katherine Solomonson, Abigail Van Slyck, and Richard Francaviglia have introduced the topic as part of the greater arc of Mormon domestic architecture, but more could be understood about the specifics of Mormon taste, especially in the mid- to late 20th century.¹¹⁴

- *Oral histories of Mormon Row*

Several Mormon Row oral histories are archived in the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum.¹¹⁵ Further review of these oral histories, with a particular ear toward the design and aesthetics of the Row, could generate a richer architectural history.

Recording additional oral histories about Mormon Row and its inhabitants could also enrich the architectural narrative.

¹¹⁴ Richard Francaviglia. *The Mormon Landscape...*; Thomas Carter, *Building Zion...*

¹¹⁵ Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum. 225 North Cache Street, Jackson, WY. USA.
<https://jacksonholehistory.org/archaeology/researchcenter/>

10. CONCLUSION

Mormon Row in Grand Teton National Park exemplifies late-stage homesteading in the Western United States and illustrates the arc of homestead architecture from rustic cabins to postwar farmhouses. Of the surviving structures, the stuccoed Pink House best represents a transition from an architecture defined by Mormon tradition to one less discernably Mormon and connected to broader American trends. The house appears frozen in time but is in fact a catalogue of finish changes between 1938 and the 1960s which narrate the Moultons' negotiation of personal taste and practicality with Mormon tradition, technological upgrades, and the tastes of American society at large. Layered wallpapers tell a story of national trends in interior design as they evolved over time, and a singular floor plan reveals the influence of shelter magazines on farmhouse planning. An allegiance to masonry construction, exterior symmetry, and other features reveal a connection to Mormon identity and tradition juxtaposed with modern ornamental flourishes in hardware and ornament. The preservation of all these aspects, and more, provides a rare opportunity to compare and contrast competing influences and begin to define what Mormon domestic architecture – and the Western American homestead – looked like in the mid-20th century.

The survival of the Pink House provides a window into the lives of late-stage, 20th-century homesteading. The Park Service has passively conserved the site for decades, in part because the house never acquired indoor plumbing, which discouraged use of the site for offices or habitation. Such use would have compromised the integrity

of the interiors, which instead have aged in place and become historic artifacts in their own right. The Pink House's layered wallpapers, in particular, exemplify the aesthetic preferences of the Moulton family, and provide a rare and intact narrative of middle-class, 20th-century wallpapers.

The Pink House and Mormon Row showcase a unique combination of a traditional American Cape Cod house, Mormon legacy, Modernist influences, prefabricated goods, and farmhouse planning advocated by national housing reformers. The site's complexity, illustrative capacity, and survival of finishes render it a valuable resource for further scholarship and merits considered conservation and interpretation that engages visitors to Grand Teton National Park.

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APPENDIX A:
SAMPLES OF PAINT, WALLPAPER, AND OTHER FINISHES

Samples of paint, wallpaper, and other finishes were taken from within the Pink House on October 22, 2019 but were never examined due to the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic. The samples are in the collection of the Architectural Conservation Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania, Weitzman School of Design. This chart provides an overview of where each sample was taken and why.

| Sample # | Room | Location | Reason for Sampling |
|----------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Boys' Bedroom | Wood trim, just above lower hinge. | To understand the material makeup of the clear coat, (T.F.063.) |
| 2 | Boys' Bedroom | Slanted ceiling left of entry. | To obtain a ceiling stratigraphy. |
| 3 | Kitchen | Lower shelf edge of the through cabinet. | To see when the shelf edges were painted black. |
| 4 | Kitchen | Wall, just left of the through cabinet | To obtain a stratigraphy of the Kitchen walls. |
| 5 | Kitchen | Wall, Just left of the Light switch. | To obtain a stratigraphy of the Kitchen walls. |
| 6 | Kitchen | Ceiling, square baton joint nearest the hallway. | To obtain a ceiling stratigraphy. |
| 7 | Living Room | Wallpaper over the flue outlet. | To determine when the Moultons began wintering in Jackson and provide a timeframe for the finishes thereafter. |
| 8 | Girls' Bedroom | Slanted ceiling above the closet door. | To obtain a ceiling stratigraphy. |

| Suggested Samples | Room | Location | Reason for Sampling |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a | Kitchen | Un-chromed counter edge (linoleum substrate.) | To see when the room was painted yellow in relation to the installation of the second Linoleum (<i>T.L.065.</i>) |
| b | Sewing Room | Top edge of the sewing room wall. | To obtain a full stratigraphy of the room including all wallpapers and wallpaper borders. |
| c | Downstairs Hallway | Inner wall of the grate opening. | To determine if the grate was an original feature of the house. And understand the House's heating system. |
| d | Kitchen | Cabinet face. | To see if the cabinets were always painted. |
| various | Bathroom | Various. | To develop an understanding of the room's complex stratigraphy. |

APPENDIX B: INVENTORY OF INTERIOR FINISHES

The following is a list of the identified finishes within the Pink House as of August 16, 2020. Within this inventory, finishes are grouped together alphabetically by room, then ordered numerically.

Finishes are identified numerically with two prefixes, the first indicating room location and the second indicating type of material. For Example, the first identified finish is *LR.W.001* (Living Room. Wallpaper. Numerical identification.) The numerical identification for each finish is unique.

ROOM PREFIXES

BB – Boys’ Bedroom
BT – Bathroom
GB – Girls’ Bedroom
H – Downstairs Hallway
JB – John and Bartha’s Bedroom
K – Kitchen
LR – Living Room
M – Mudroom (Porch)
SR – Sewing Room
T – Throughout (Multiple Rooms)

FINISH PREFIXES

C – Carpet
CP – Contact Paper
F – Finish (as-yet unidentified)
L – Linoleum
P – Paint
W – Wallpaper

BATHROOM

BT.W.046

Paper liner
(over all.)
(Noah Yoder,
2019.)



BT.CP.047

Cream/tan colored, vinyl
coated, canvas wainscot with
an abstracted tropical dado
of green, blue, yellow, and
red vegetation. Applied like
contact paper. (Noah Yoder,
2019.)



BT.CP.048

Tropical themed contact paper featuring abstracted green, red, yellow, blue, and gray flowers. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

**BT.W.049**

Wallpaper border with yellow, gray, black, white and silver stripes above and below a repeating blue, red, and black diamond pattern (dado.) (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BT.P.050

Cream colored paint. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



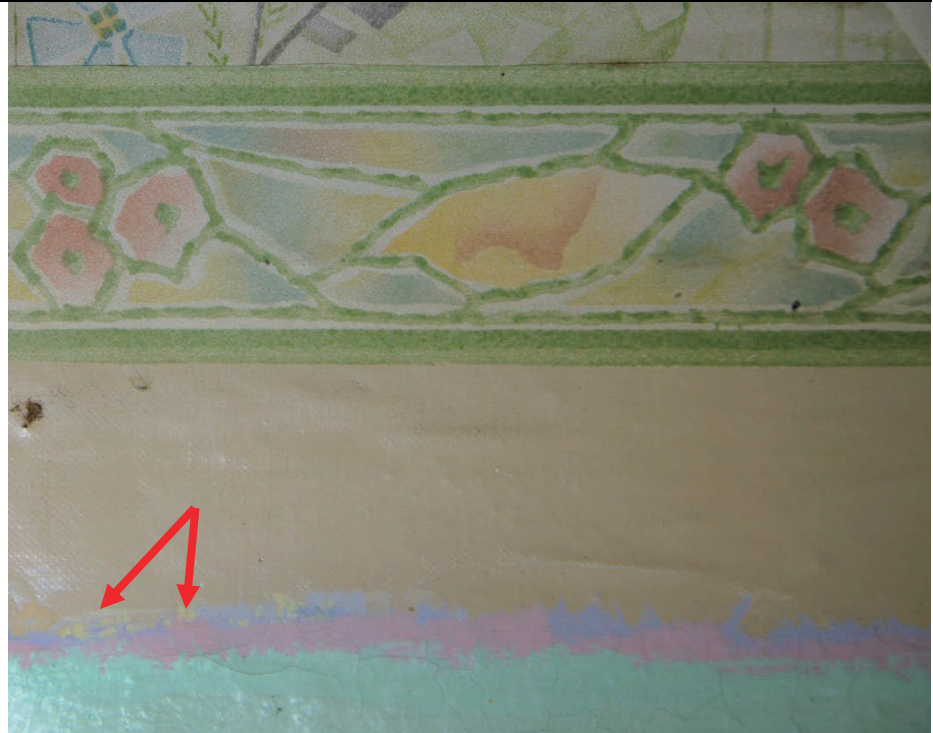
BT.W.051

Paper liner or unidentified wallpaper (above dado.)
(Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BT.P.052

Yellow paint
(below dado.)
(Noah Yoder,
2019.)



BT.P.053

Pale blue
paint (below
dado.) (Noah
Yoder, 2019.)



BT.W.054

Paper liner or
unidentified wallpaper
(above dado and dado
border.) (Noah Yoder,
2019.)



BT.P.055

White paint
(above
dado.)
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott
Photography,
2019.)

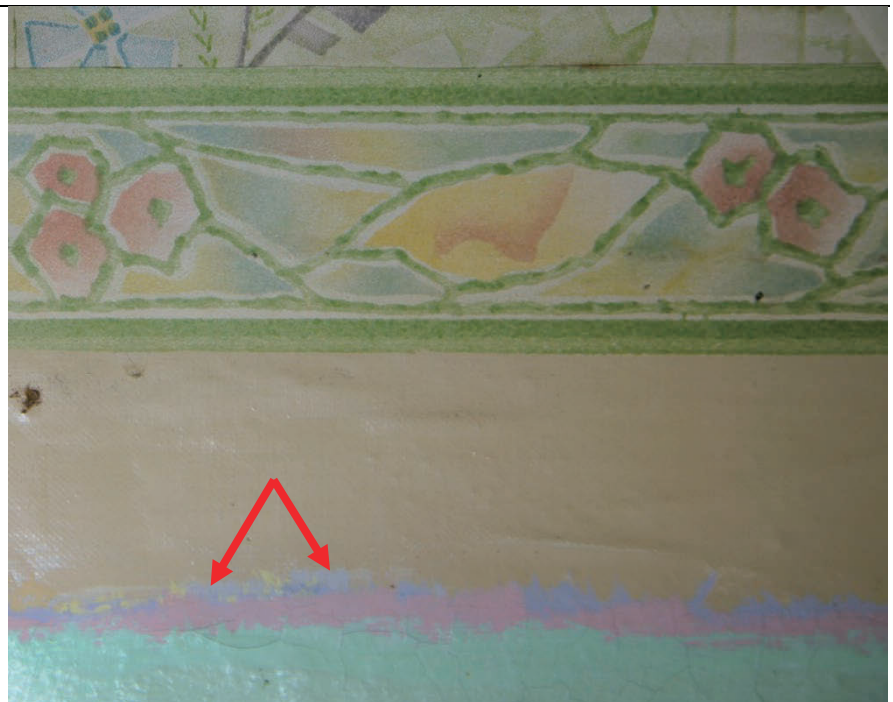


BT.W.056

Wallpaper border featuring bunches of blue, pink, and yellow flowers and blue lace swags on a white background (dado.) (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

**BT.P.057**

Pale blue paint (below dado, slightly paler than BT.P.053.) (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BT.P.058

Pink paint
(below dado.)
(Noah Yoder,
2019.)



BT.P.059

Green paint
(below dado,
possibly the
same as
H.P.040.)
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



BT.L.060

Faux tile in pink linoleum with a white mottled design. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BT.C.061

Gray carpet with a leaf motif in texture (as opposed to color.) (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BOYS' BEDROOM

BB.W.031

Wallpaper with a green and brown wave pattern surmounted by white stippling (or pixels) generating an overall plaid pattern. Includes an abstracted, white foliate motif. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



BB.W.032

Green wallpaper with green vertical stripes arranged in ascending order of thickness and back again. Includes a vertical vine and berry pattern in white and periodic bunches of blue, yellow, orange, pink, and white flowers surmounting the green stripes. (Laura Keim, 2019).



BB.W.033

Wallpaper border with blue, golden yellow, and white stripes around a repeating laurel leaf pattern in green, white, and cream. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

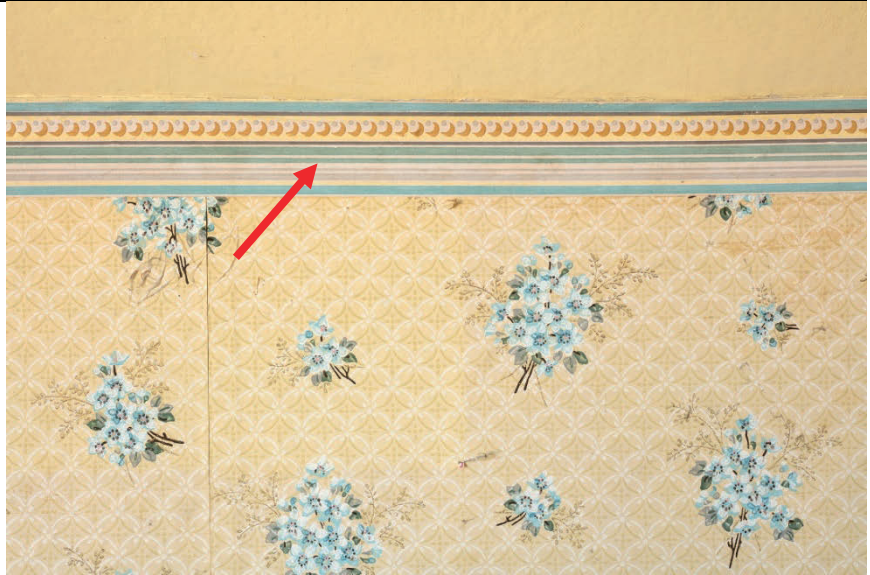
**BB.W.034**

Yellow wallpaper with blue, white, and gold posies over a two-tone yellow and white diaper patterned background. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

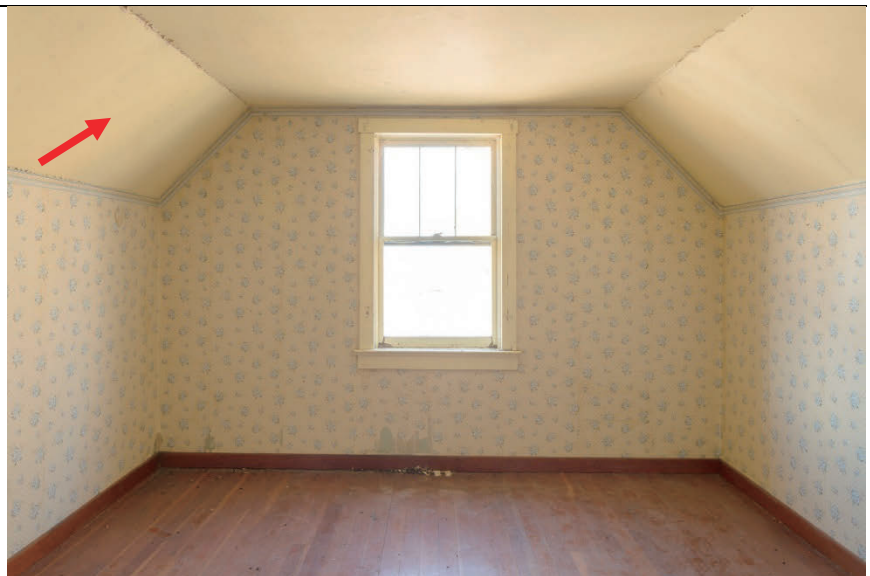


BB.W.035

Blue, gray, white,
and yellow striped
wallpaper border
with a beaded
pattern. (Joseph
E.B. Elliott
Photography,
2019.)

**BB.P.036**

Yellow paint. On
Ceiling. (Joseph
E.B. Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



GIRLS' BEDROOM

GB.W.023

Pale blue floral wallpaper with tropical flowers in full color and linear, abstracted cherry blossoms and grassy plants in white. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



GB.W.024

Blue wallpaper border featuring white flowers and white rope swags and yellow borders. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



GB.W.025

Wallpaper with a two tone, blue woodgrain patterned background. The paper features bouquets of pink and yellow daisies and metallic silver sprays tied with blue bows, and white lace/rope swags with a cherry blossom motif. The paper is labeled: “#...INI Gilbert We...” Likely printed by the Gilbert Wallpaper Company, based out of York Pennsylvania. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



GB.W.026

Blue wallpaper border featuring a linear cherry blossom motif in white and a pink, rumpled ribbon (or abstracted pattern) and an additional, blue ribbon with blue bows. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



GB.P.027

Pink paint.
(Noah Yoder,
2019.)



GB.P.028

Pink paint.
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



GB.W.029

Silver wallpaper with a flat, abstracted parsley leaf pattern. Pink, wild roses with green leaves are placed within pockets of negative space. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

**GB.W.030**

Wallpaper border of pink, yellow, and white stripes and a repeating white fern pattern. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography.)



HALLWAY (FIRST FLOOR)

H.P.039

Gray paint.
(Noah
Yoder,
2019.)



H.P.040

Green paint (possibly the same as
BT.P.059). (Joseph E.B. Elliott
Photography, 2019.)



JOHN AND BARTHA'S BEDROOM

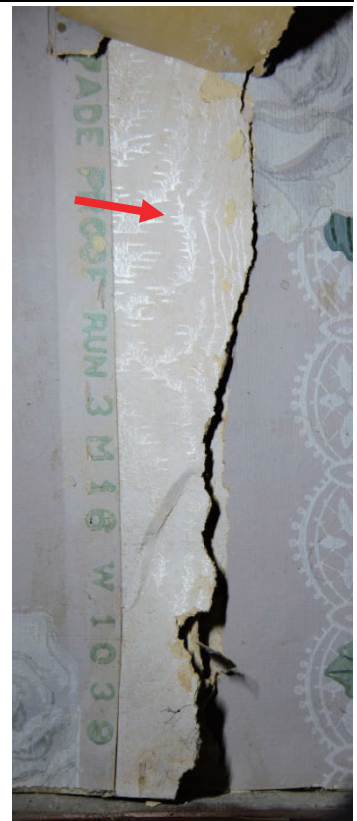
JB.W.017

Cream colored wallpaper with a gold dot pattern forming a larger floral pattern within the negative space, surmounted by wreaths of orange, yellow, and white flowers with two linear gold bows each. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



JB.W.018

White wallpaper with a silver woodgrain pattern. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



JB.W.019

White wallpaper with pink and white flowers and vibrant green stems and leaves. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

**JB.W.020**

Pale, warm gray/tan wallpaper featuring vertical, white lace stripes with red ribbon whip-stitched the length of the lace. Large, white and gray roses with bicolor green stems are superimposed throughout. Wallpaper measures 18 ¼" wide and is labeled: FADE PROOF RUN 3 M16 W1039. (Joseph E.B. Elliot Photography, 2019.)



JB.W.021

Wallpaper
border
featuring
stripes in red,
pink and
three tones of
green.
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott, 2019.)



JB.P.022

Red paint. On
ceiling. (Laura
Keim, 2019.)



KITCHEN

K.P.041

Pale yellow
paint. (Noah
Yoder, 2019.)



K.P.042

Pale yellow paint
(slightly more
orange than
K.P.041).
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



K.P.043

Black paint. Pictured here on a bracket supporting an upper kitchen cabinet. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



K.CP.044

Green and white gingham contact paper. Located within the kitchen cabinets. (Laura Keim, 2019.)



K.CP.045

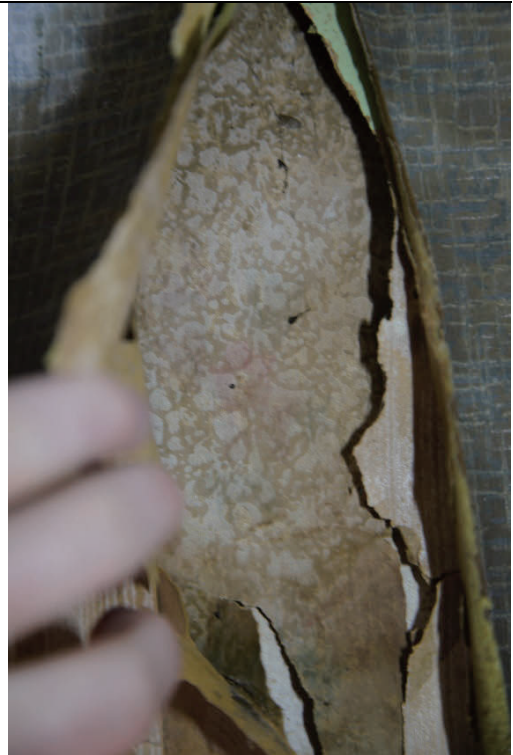
Faux wood
contact paper.
Located on the
chimney in the
kitchen. (Laura
Keim, 2019.)



LIVING ROOM

LR.W.001

Mottled grayish-tan and white. May have included pink/red and green floral motifs on top (washed off in glue or by water damage. May also have included metallic elements. Unclear.) (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



LR.W.002

Brown paper with no clear motif, it was likely used to level out the embossed texture of the previous layer in order to receive paint. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



LR.P.003

Pale green paint. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



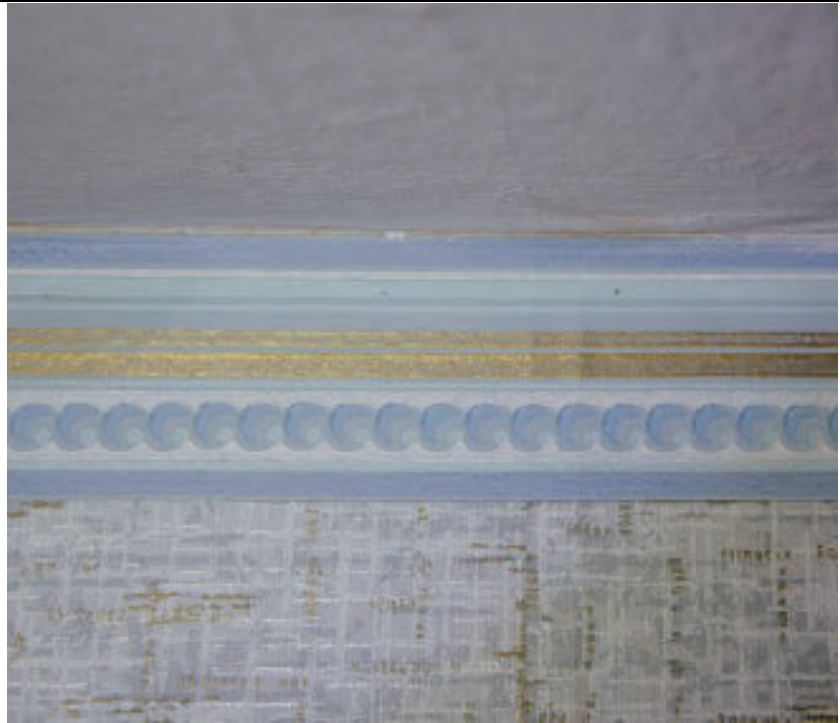
LR.W.004

Wallpaper with a blue-green, white, gold and silver hatched pattern. The same as wallpaper SR.W.013. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



LR.W.005

Wallpaper border featuring stripes in white, metallic gold, and three different tones of blue. A beaded motif runs along the lower half. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



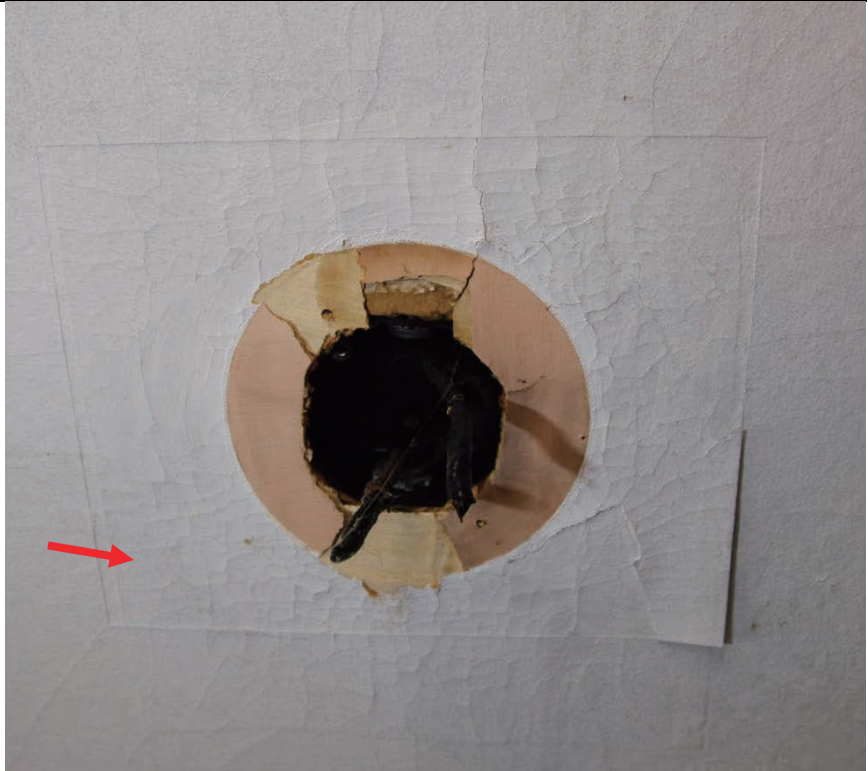
LR.P.006

Pink paint. On ceiling. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



LR.P.007

White paint. On ceiling. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)

**LR.W.012**

Slightly shiny, beige paper with an embossed, diagonal hatching pattern in vertical stripes. It features a tulip pattern repeating vertically, white and silver (?) vertical stripes, and a white vertical leaf pattern flanked at intervals with four-petaled flowers. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



MUDROOM (PORCH)

M.P.037

Royal blue
paint. (Joseph
E.B. Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



M.P.038

Cream
colored paint.
(Joseph E.B.
Elliott
Photography,
2019.)



SEWING ROOM

SR.W.008

Pink wallpaper with thin, white, irregular (tartan) grid. Includes bunches of white, pink, orange and Yellow flowers. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



SR.W.009

Powder blue vertical stripes with a twisting acanthus leaf pattern. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



SR.W.010

Cream/gray/white brushy marks in an alternating pattern of some sort. Includes dynamic gray and white pattern. Also, a yellow and blue flower pattern surrounded by gray rays which are in turn surrounded by linear arrangements of gold dots. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



SR.W.011

Embossed pastel patchwork pattern, featuring many motifs within separate patches. Has a collaged effect. Raised elements of the embossing are in white. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



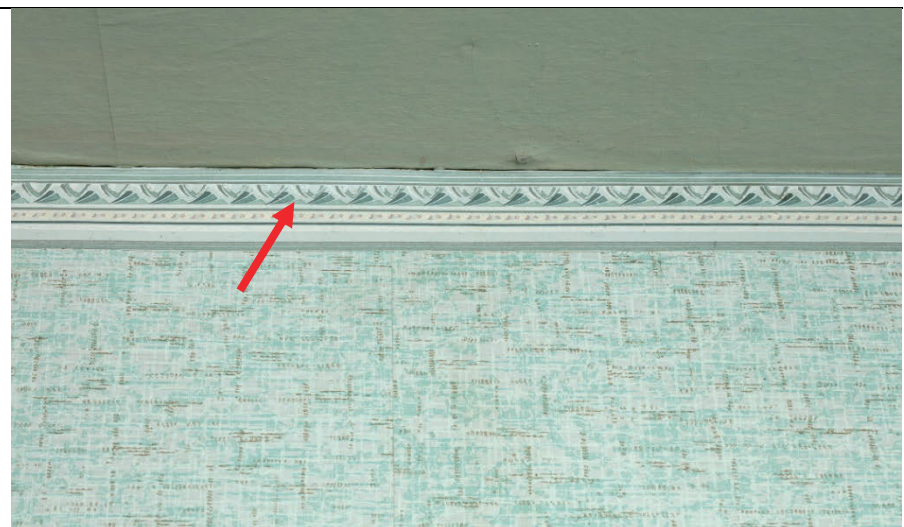
SR.W.013

Wallpaper with a blue-green, white, gold and silver hatched pattern. The same as wallpaper LR.W.004. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



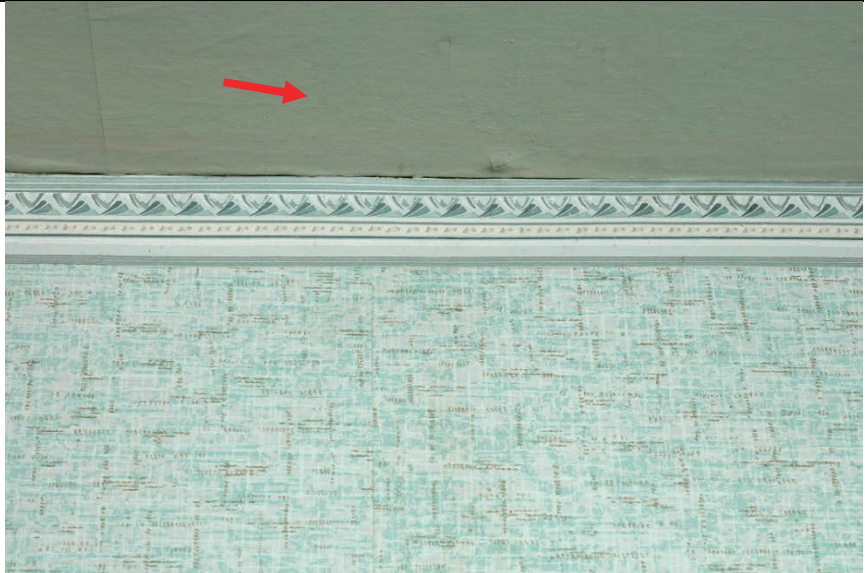
SR.W.014

Wallpaper border in pale greens and gold featuring stripes, a beaded motif, and a cascading triangular pattern. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)

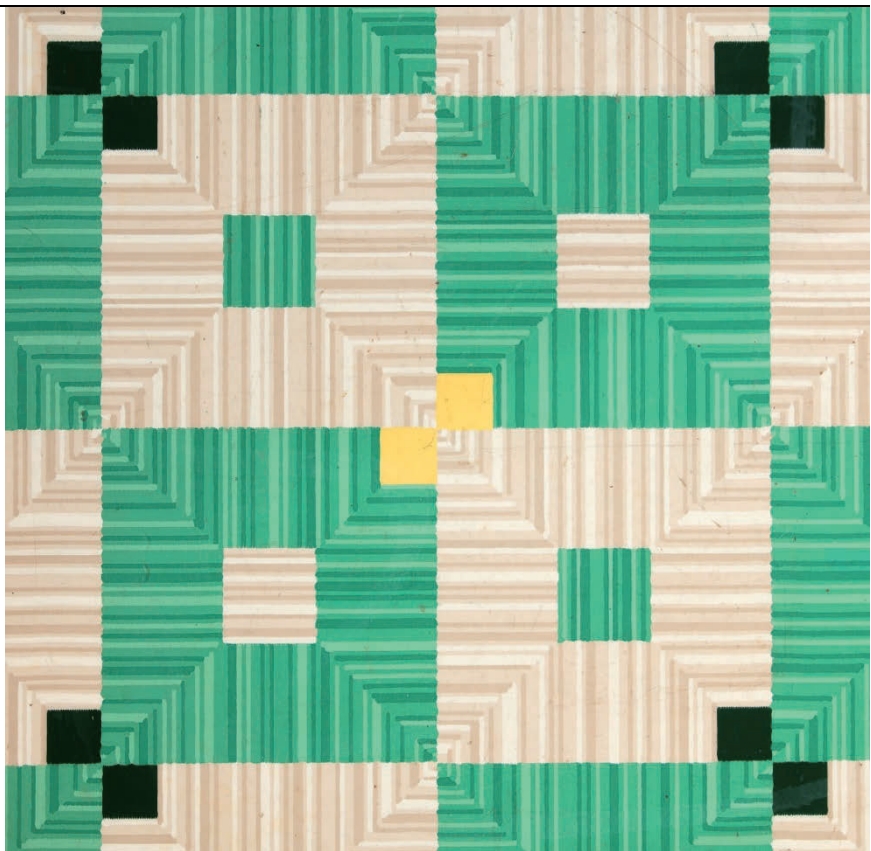


SR.P.015

Pale, grayish-green paint. On ceiling.
(Joseph E.B. Elliott
Photography,
2019.)

**SR.L.016**

Cream, dark green, turquoise, and yellow square/geometric patterned linoleum. (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



THROUGHOUT (MULTIPLE ROOMS)

T.F.062

Wood finishing oil (unknown composition.) seen here on the living room floor. (Laura Keim, 2019).



T.F.063

Wood clear coat (unknown composition.) (Joseph E.B. Elliott Photography, 2019.)



T.L.064

Pink, white, and black marbled linoleum. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



T.L.065

Faux terrazzo linoleum in gray and white with gold glitter incorporations. Seen here on the Kitchen counter. (Noah Yoder, 2019.)



APPENDIX C: FINISH STRATIGRAPHY BY ROOM

The following graphs are intended to clarify the stratigraphy of individual rooms in the Pink House to better understand consecutive design schemes, gauge approximate age, and other uses. These charts should not be referenced to determine the exact order of finishes beyond a room-by-room basis.

On each graph, finishes are listed to the left in approximate order of application. Gray cells indicate on which surface each was found on and are identified numerically by their distance from the substrate, which is indicated at the bottom. Some finishes are concurrent and are numerically labeled as such.

Finishes are identified numerically with two prefixes, the first indicating room location and the second indicating type of material. For Example, the first identified finish is *LR.W.001* (Living Room. Wallpaper. Numerical identification.) The numerical identification for each finish is unique.

ROOM PREFIXES

BB – Boys’ Bedroom
BT – Bathroom
GB – Girls’ Bedroom
H – Downstairs Hallway
JB – John and Bartha’s Bedroom
K – Kitchen
LR – Living Room
M – Mudroom (Porch)
SR – Sewing Room
T – Throughout (Multiple Rooms)

FINISH PREFIXES

C – Carpet
CP – Contact Paper
F – Finish (as-yet unidentified)
L – Linoleum
P – Paint
W – Wallpaper

 Irregularities and uncertainties are noted in red.

BATHROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | above/below /on dado |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| BT.C.061 | | 2 | | | |
| BT.L.060 | | 1 | | | |
| BT.P.059 | 10 | | | | Below |
| BT.P.058 | 9 | | | | below |
| BT.P.053 | 8 | | | | below |
| BT.P.057 | 7 | | | | below |
| BT.P.052 | 6 | | | | below |
| BT.W.056 | 6 | | | | on |
| BT.P.055 | 6 | | 2 | 2 | above |
| BT.W.049 | 5 | | | | on |
| BT.W.051 | 4 | | | | above |
| BT.CP.048 | 3 | | | | above |
| BT.CP.047 | 3 | | | | below/on |
| B.T.W.050 | 2 | | | | below |
| BT.W.046 | 1 | | 1 | | both |
| Substrate | Cardboard and Paper | wood | Cardboard and Paper | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions The bathroom has the most complex stratigraphy in the house and remains enigmatic, and likely incomplete. Further analysis is needed. | | | The stratigraphy of this ceiling is still unknown. | | |

BOYS' BEDROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| BB.P.036 | | | 1 | | |
| BB.W.035 | 3 | | | | |
| BB.W.034 | 3 | | | | |
| BB.W.033 | 2 | | | | |
| BB.W.032 | 2 | | | | |
| BB.W.031 | 1 | | | | |
| Substrate | Fiberboard | Wood | Fiberboard and Paper Liner | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | The stratigraphy of this ceiling is still unknown. | | |

GIRLS' BEDROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| GB.W.030 | 5 | | | | |
| GB.W.029 | 5 | | | | |
| GB.P.028 | 4 | | 2 | | |
| GB.P.027 | 3 | | 1 | | |
| GB.W.026 | 2 | | | | |
| GB.W.025 | 2 | | | | |
| GB.W.024 | 1 | | | | |
| GB.W.023 | 1 | | | | |
| Substrate | Fiberboard | Wood | Fiberboard and Paper Liner | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | The stratigraphy of this ceiling is still unknown. | | |

HALLWAY (FIRST FLOOR)

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| T.L.064 | | 2 | | | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| H.P.040 | 3 | | 4 | 3 | |
| K.P.041/042 | | | 3 | | |
| H.P.039 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | |
| T.F.063 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| Substrate | Plywood Panels | Wood | Plywood Panels | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | K.P.041/042 is an incidental overlap from the kitchen, not a color with full coverage. | Only some of the trim was painted. | |

HALLWAY AND STAIRWELL (SECOND FLOOR)

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| Substrate | Plywood Panels | Wood | Plywood Panels | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | | | |

JOHN AND BARTHA'S BEDROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| JB.P.022 | | | 1 | | |
| JB.W.021 | 4 | | | | |
| JB.W.020 | 4 | | | | |
| JB.W.019 | 3 | | | | |
| JB.W.018 | 2 | | | | |
| JB.W.017 | 1 | | | | |
| Substrate | Fiberboard | Wood | Fiberboard and Paper Liner | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | The stratigraphy of this ceiling is still unknown. | | |

KITCHEN

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|------|---------------------------------|
| K.CP.044 | | | | | 1 |
| K.P.043 | | | | 1 | |
| T.L.065 | | 2 | | | |
| T.L.064 | | 1 | | | |
| K.CP.045 | 4 | | | | |
| K.P.042 | 3 | | 3 | | |
| K.P.041 | 2 | | 2 | | |
| T.F.063 | 1 | | 1 | | |
| Substrate | Plywood Panels | Wood | | | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | K.CP.045 has only partial coverage on the chimney. | Includes the surface of the counter. | | | K.CP.044 found within cabinets. |

LIVING ROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| LR.P.007 | | | 2 | | |
| LR.P.006 | | | 1 | | |
| LR.W.005 | 5 | | | | |
| LR.W.004 | 5 | | | | |
| LR.P.003 | 4 | | | | |
| LR.W.002 | 3 | | | | |
| LR.W.012 | 2 | | | | |
| LR.W.001 | 1 | | | | |
| Substrate | Fiberboard | Wood | Fiberboard and Paper Liner | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | | | |

MUDROOM (PORCH)


| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.L.064 | | 2 | | | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| M.P.038 | | | 2 | 2 | |
| M.P.037 | 2 | | | | |
| T.F.063 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| Substrate | Plywood Panels | Wood | Plywood Panels | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | | | |

SEWING ROOM

| Wallpaper or Finish | Walls | Floor | Ceiling | Trim | Other |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| T.F.063 | | | | 1 | |
| SR.L.016 | | 2 | | | |
| T.F.062 | | 1 | | | |
| SR.P.015 | | | 1 | | |
| SR.W.014 | 6 | | | | |
| SR.W.013 | 5 | | | | |
| SR.W.011 | 4 | | | | |
| SR.W.010 | 3 | | | | |
| SR.W.009 | 2 | | | | |
| SR.W.008 | 1 | | | | |
| Substrate | Fiberboard | Wood | Fiberboard and Paper Liner | Plywood and Dimensional Lumber | |
| Notes/ Conclusions | | | The stratigraphy of this ceiling is still unknown. | | |

APPENDIX D: INVENTORY OF HARDWARE

The Following are two Inventories of hardware found in the Pink House. The first inventory details each item's dimensions, material composition and provides additional notes taken onsite. The second inventory identifies how many or how much of each item is found in each room in the house and calculates a house-wide total of each item. Items that span more than one room are identified only once.

 Irregularities and uncertainties are noted in red.

HARDWARE INVENTORY #1

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Window Latch/Sash Lock | 1 | 2.75 | 1.25 | | | Ovoid base, some are broken. |
| Flanking Curtain Rod | 2.25 | 16.5 | 3.25 | | Metal | Three missing from John and Bartha's bedroom. |
| Curtain Holders | 2.25 | | 3.25 | | brass | For sheer curtains. Located within flanking curtains in living room. 16 1/2" distance from one another. Only backplates remain in John and Bartha's bedroom. |
| Inverted Triangle, Art Deco Escutcheon and Knob | 2.25 | 3 | 1.25 | 2 (kno b) | Brass/ Brass- Plated | 1/4" thick escutcheon. |
| Deadbolt | 2.25 | 3 | 1.25 | | Brass | Missing catch. |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|---|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Mortise Strike- Plate | 5.5 | 1 | 0.5 | | Brass | |
| Half-Mortise Hinge | 5 | 2.5 | 1 | | Brass | |
| Mortise Lock | | | | | Metal, Brass | |
| Doorstops | 2.25 | | | 1 | | |
| Trim Board | 133. 25 | | | | Fir Wood. | The Longest dimension in the house is recorded here. Scarf jointed between boards, used as baseboard and trim throughout. Every header features a 1/2-inch overhang or "ears" to either side of the fenestration. |
| Weather- stripping | 32 | | 1 | | Brass, Felt | At the bottom of the front door. |
| Light Switch and Cover | 2.75 | 0.5 | 4.25 | | Plastic | Various styles. 1/4" thick covers. The cover in John and Bartha's bedroom is labeled "GE". |
| Front/Back Door | | | | | Wood, Glass | Various types. Muntins around glazing are broader than those of the windows. |
| Specialty Wall Outlet | | | | | Plastic | "PNT, GNT" circular openings. |
| Oak Flooring | | 2.25 | | | Oak | Random lengths. |
| Absent Light Fixture | | | | | | Was removed at some point. Presumably the nicest light fixture in the house. |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Butterfly Hinges | 2 | 3 | 0.25 | | Brass | Used as closet hardware. |
| Knob Ghosting | | | | .75-1 | | Knobs removed at some point, but still evident in ghosting on doors. |
| Tension Cabinet Latch | | | | | Brass | Used for closets and cabinets, includes both post and receiver. |
| Flue Cap | | | | | Tin | |
| Closet Rod | | | | | Wood | Found in closets. |
| Nails (used as hardware) | | | | | | Found in closet backs for hanging items. |
| Industrial Hook | 1.75 | 1.75 | 2,25 | | Metal | On bathroom door. |
| Folding Hanger Post | 2.5 | 1.75 | 7.5 | | Metal | For clothes hangers, hung perpendicular to wall. |
| towel bar bracket | 5 | 1.5 | 3.25 | | Metal | |
| Medicine Cabinet | 26 | 7 | 18 | | Paint, Enamel, Metal | |
| Glass Pull Handle | 4 | 1.25 | 1 | | Glass | Used for handle on bathroom transom. |
| Ceramic Overhead Light Socket | | | 2.5 | 4 | Ceramic | Includes an outlet and pull chain. |
| Wooden Shelf | | | | | Wood | |
| Sewing Pins | | | | | | Various styles, Found stuck in walls throughout the house, and in the bathroom medicine cabinet. |
| Carpeting | | | | | | |
| Laminate Flooring, | | | | | Laminate | |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| (Mottled pink and white tile pattern.) | | | | | | |
| Wall Hooks | 2 | 1.5 | 3 | | Metal | |
| Swing-Arm, 3-Arm Towel Rack | 11 | 1.5 | 2.5 | | Metal | |
| Portable Laundry Machine | | | 14.5 | 15.5 | | |
| Wall-Mounted Paper Towel Holder | 12 | 4 | 1.75 | | | |
| Shade Hardware | 1.75 | 0.5 | 0.25 | | Metal | At the sink window in the kitchen. |
| Toilet Paper Roll Holder | 5.5 | 4.25 | 1 | | Wood, Lucite | |
| Towel Bar | 25.2 5 | 5.5 | 2.5 | | Chrome-plated | |
| Soap Dish | 5.25 | 2 | 4.25 | | Chrome-plated | |
| Sardine Can Soap Dish | 4.25 | 1 | 3 | | Sardine Can | |
| Metal Overhead Light Socket | | | 2.5 | 4 | Metal | Various styles. The kitchen socket includes a ball chain and string pull and stamped: 26ØB_26ØW MADE IN USA. The one in the basement stairwell is mounted on the wall. |
| Outlet and Cover | 4.25 | 2.75 | 0.25 | | Plastic | Various styles. |
| Drainpipe | | | 5.5 | 1.5 | Metal | Cut off, drains to receptacle below the sink |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------|-------|------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Sash lock | 3 | 1.5 | 0.75 | | | Different than those elsewhere in the house |
| Sink | 30 | 17 | 6.25 | | Enameled Steel | |
| Decal | 1.75 | 1 | | | | located on a pink hook board in kitchen and on back of door in John and Bartha's Bedroom. |
| Wire Hook | 2.25 | 3 | 0.5 | | Wire | |
| Blue Box | 18.75 | 22.5 | 15.25 | | Painted Wood | features 14 nails found on the rim, once had nailed on handles. Unclear original purpose. |
| counter edging | 1 | | | | Aluminum | |
| Linoleum: Marbled | | 46.25 | | | Linoleum | |
| Linoleum: Glitter Terrazzo | | | | | Linoleum | |
| Brackets | 9.75 | 2 | 9.75 | | Painted Metal | located under kitchen cabinets, 11 /34 above the counter |
| Uncapped Flue Hole | | | | 6.25 | | includes 9 1/2" diameter gasket edge in the kitchen. Covered by wallpaper in the living room. |
| Mirror Ghosting | 14 | | 17.75 | | | above the kitchen sink in the kitchen. |
| Stove Ghosting | 24.5 | 34.5 | | | | Visible as four triangular imprints on the kitchen floor. Notable (possibly heat related) cracking can be seen around the |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| | | | | | | imprints. Triangles measure 4x4x6". |
| Oval Hinges | 1.75 | 0.25 | 1.75 | | Chrome-plated | |
| Oval Cabinet Pulls | 2 | 0.75 | 1 | | Chromed Metal | |
| Drawer Pulls | 4.5 | 1 | 0.5 | | Chromed Metal | |
| Extension Cords | | | | | | Various styles. |
| Paint Can Flue Cover | | | | | Paint Can | "Powdercoat" paint? |
| Wooden Shelves | | | | | Plywood and Commercial Lumber | |
| Produce Crate Shelves | | | | | Produce Crates | In the basement stairwell. |
| Tie Rack | | | | | Wood, Brass, Paper Decal | In closet. |
| Removable Window Screen | | | | | Screen, Wood | |
| "New York" Style Knob and Escutcheon | 7 | 2.25 | 2.5 | 2.5 knob | Brass | 1/4" thick escutcheon. Knobs are missing on the door between the mudroom and the kitchen. |
| Hook Curtain Hardware | 2 | 0.75 | 0.5 | | Painted Metal | |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------|------|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Plastic Insulator remnant | | | | 3 | Plastic | Unknown purpose. |
| Handrail | 147 | | | | Wood | |
| Handrail Supports | 2.75 | 1.25 | 3.25 | | Brass | |
| Rubber Stair Treads | 24.2 5 | 10.5 | | | Rubber | |
| Poured Concrete Foundation | | | | | | |
| General Hardware Ghosting | | | | | | In the upstairs hallway there is ghosting of a mirror surmounted by a hanger for a lantern, and Also the ghosting of a 24 3/4" towel bar. |
| Linoleum: Green, cream, yellow and black checkerboard pattern. | | | | | Linoleum | |
| Laminate: Faux white tile pattern. | | | | | Laminate | The sink backsplash in the kitchen. |
| Breaker Box | | | | | Metal with glass fuses. | |
| Hooks with Decorative ack Plate | | | | | Chrome- Plated | |
| Floor Grate | | | | | Painted Steel | Goes through to the downstairs hallway. |
| Screen Door | | | | | Screen, Wood | Includes a hand carved handle, meant for the |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| | | | | | | exterior back door, but kept in the mudroom. |
| Commercial Door with Plywood Panels | | | | | Plywood, Wood | Each door and its associated hardware is only counted once in this survey. |
| Plywood | | | | | Plywood, Wood | Used for closet doors and framing. |
| 1/4" Finished Plywood | | | | | Plywood, Wood | Used as wall paneling. |
| Wood battens | | | | | Wood | Used to cover seams between plywood panels. |
| 3/4" quarter-Round | | | | | Wood | |
| Fiberboard Panels | | | | | Unknown Content | |
| Rough-Sawn Boards | | | | | Wood | Visible in the crawl space accessed from the upstairs hall. |
| Commercial Window | | | | | Wood | Various styles. Includes springs and metal glides stamped: "DO NOT PAINT METAL" and "CURTIS SILENTITE". The number 18 is also printed on the glides. |
| Oiled Fir Flooring | | | | | Oiled Fir | |
| Stock Dimensional Lumber | | | | | Wood | Various dimensions. |
| Insulating Paper | | | | | Paper | Visible in the crawl space accessed from the upstairs hall. |

| Noted Hardware and Building Materials | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----|--|--|-----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Hardware/ Material | Dimensions in inches (LxW[D]xH, Diameter) | | | | Material | Notes |
| Wall Liner | | 18 | | | Paper | Used to cover seams in fiberboard panels . |
| Transom Window | | | | | | |
| Cardboard/ Paper-Mache | | | | | | Used for walls in the bathroom. |
| Commercial Door with Glass Pane and Plywood Panel | | | | | | Between the stairwell and the mudroom. |
| Wire Hookup for Telephone | | | | | Electrical Wire | In a niche off the kitchen. |
| Exposed Hookup for a Light Fixture | | | | | | |

HARDWARE INVENTORY #2

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Window Latch/Sash Lock | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| Flanking Curtain Rod | 4 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 |
| Curtain Holders | 4 | 2 | | 4 | | 2 | | | | | 4 | 16 |
| Inverted Triangle, Art Deco Escutcheon and Knob | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | 1? | | | | 10 |
| Deadbolt | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Mortise Strike-Plate | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| Half-Mortise Hinge | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 6 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 20 |
| Mortise Lock | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| Doorstops | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Trim Board | yes | yes | | yes | yes | yes | yes | | yes | yes | yes | 9 rooms |
| Weather-stripping | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Light Switch and Cover | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1? | 1 | 1 | 1 | 11 |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Front/Back Door | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Specialty Wall Outlet | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Oak Flooring | yes | | | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Absent Light Fixture | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Butterfly Hinges | | 4 | | | | 2 | | | 7 | | 8 | 21 |
| Knob Ghosting | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | 3 | | 4 | 10 |
| Tension Cabinet Latch | | 2 | | 7 | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | | 4 | 19 |
| Flue Cap | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Closet Rod | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 3 |
| Nails (used as hardware) | | yes | | | | yes | | yes | | | | 3 rooms |
| Industrial Hook | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Folding Hanger Post | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| towel bar bracket | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Medicine Cabinet | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Glass Pull Handle | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Ceramic Overhead Light Socket | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 5 |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Wooden Shelf | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sewing Pins | yes | yes | yes | | | | | | yes | Yes | | 5 rooms |
| Carpeting | | | yes | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Laminate Flooring, (Mottled pink and white tile pattern.) | | | yes | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Wall Hooks | | | | 4 | 6 | | 3 | | | | | 13 |
| Swing-Arm, 3-Arm Towel Rack | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Portable Laundry Machine | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Wall-Mounted Paper Towel Holder | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Shade Hardware | 4 | 2 | | 4 | | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | 4 | 20 |
| Toilet Paper Roll Holder | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Towel Bar | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Soap Dish | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sardine Can Soap Dish | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Metal Overhead Light Socket | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1? | | | 1 | 4 |
| Outlet and Cover | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Drainpipe | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sash lock | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Sink | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Decal | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Wire Hook | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | 3 |
| Blue Box | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| counter edging | | | | yes | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Linoleum: Marbled | | | | yes | yes | | yes | | | | | 3 rooms |
| Linoleum: Glitter Terrazzo | | | | yes | yes | | | | | | | 2 rooms |
| Brackets | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Uncapped Flue Hole | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Mirror Ghosting | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| Stove Ghosting | | | | yes | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Oval Hinges | | | | 14 | 4 | | | | | | | 18 |
| Oval Cabinet Pulls | | | | 7 | 2 | | | | | | | 9 |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Drawer Pulls | | | | 8 | | | | | | | | 8 |
| Extension Cords | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| Paint Can Flue Cover | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Wooden Shelves | | | | | | | | yes | | | | 1 room |
| Produce Crate Shelves | | | | | | | | yes | | | | 1 room |
| Tie Rack | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Removable Window Screen | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| "New York" Style Knob and Escutcheon | | | | | 2 | 3 | | 1? | 1 | 1 | | 8 |
| Hook Curtain Hardware | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | | 4 |
| Plastic Insulator remnant | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Handrail | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Handrail Supports | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | 4 |
| Rubber Stair Treads | | | | | | 8? | | | | | | 8 |
| Poured Concrete Foundation | | | | | | | | yes | | | | 1 room |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| General Hardware Ghosting | | | | | | yes | | | | | | 1 room |
| Linoleum: Green, cream, yellow and black checkerboard pattern. | | yes | | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Laminate: Faux white tile pattern. | | | | yes | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Breaker Box | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Hooks with Decorative ack Plate | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Floor Grate | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 room |
| Screen Door | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Commercial Door with Plywood Panels | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Plywood | | yes | | yes | 3 | yes | | yes | yes | | yes | 3 |
| 1/4" Finished Plywood | | | | yes | yes | yes | yes | | | | | 4 rooms |
| Wood batons | | | | yes | yes | yes | yes | | | | | 4 rooms |
| 3/4" quarter-Round | | yes | yes | yes | | yes | yes | | | | yes | 4 rooms |

| Presence and/or quantity in room | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Hardware/ Material | Living Room | Sewing Room | Bathroom | Kitchen | Mudroom (Porch) | Stair & Upper Hall | 1st Floor Hall | Basement | Girls' Bedroom | Boys' Bedroom | John & Bartha's | Total |
| Fiberboard Panels | yes | yes | | | | | | | yes | yes | yes | 1 room |
| Rough-Sawn Boards | | | | | | yes | | | | | | 1 room |
| Commercial Window | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 3 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 14 |
| Oiled Fir Flooring | | yes | yes | | | yes | yes | | yes | yes | yes | 7 rooms |
| Stock Dimensional Lumber | | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | | yes | 9 rooms |
| Insulating Paper | | | | | | yes | | | | | | 1 room |
| Wall Liner | yes | yes | | | | | | | yes | yes | yes | 5 rooms |
| Transom Window | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Cardboard/ Paper-Mache | | | yes | | | | | | | | | 1 room |
| Commercial Door with Glass Pane and Plywood Panel | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Wire Hookup for Telephone | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
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